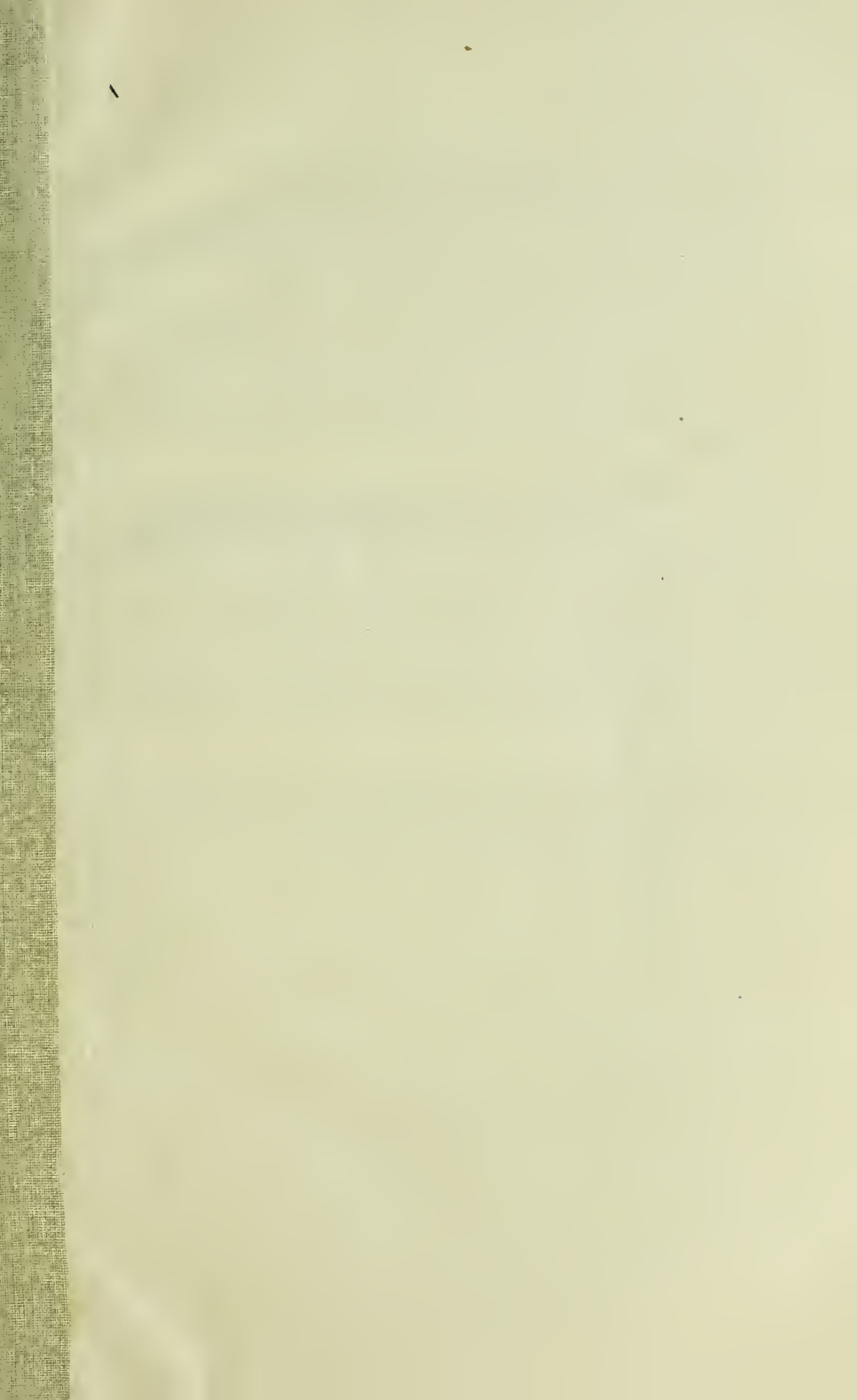


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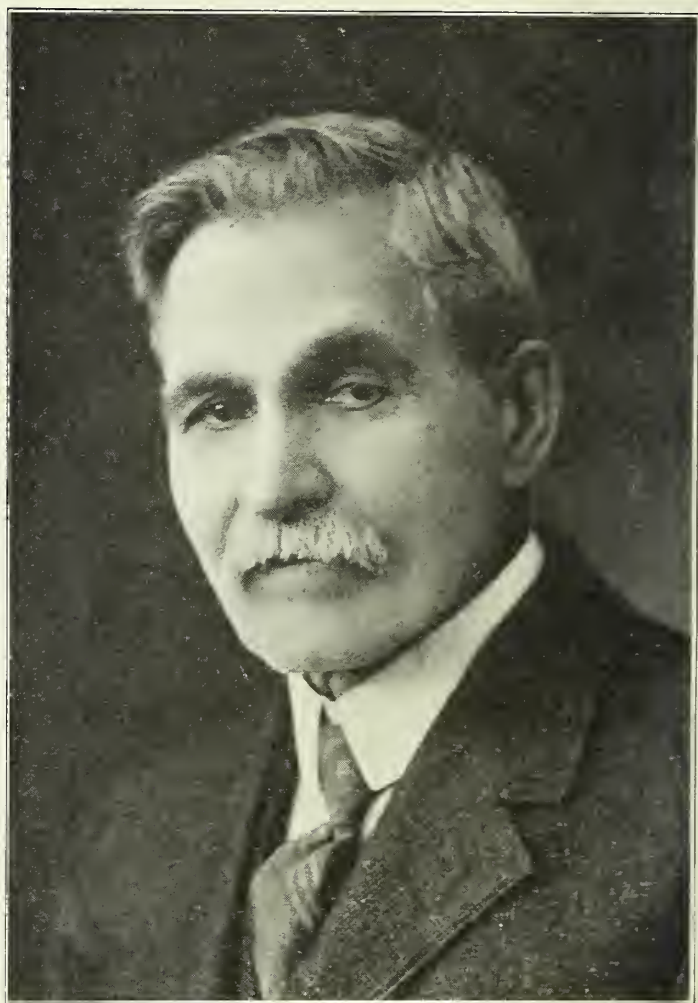
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Chris Evans

HISTORY
of
UNITED MINE WORKERS
of AMERICA

from the year
1860 TO 1890

with illustrations of early pioneers

BY
CHRIS EVANS



VOLUME I.

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TO THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS
OF THE
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARDS
THE RANK AND FILE
OF THE
UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA
THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

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UNITED MINE WORKERS *of* AMERICA

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PREFACE

IT IS WITH profound gratitude that we of the younger generation of mine workers pay tribute to the pioneers of our movement, men who by their zeal and devotion to the principles of trade unionism made possible the splendid organization we have today. Their sacrifices and struggles to establish industrial justice in the coal mines of America make one of the finest and most inspiring chapters in the history of the organized labor movement of our country.

When the Executive Board of our International Organization decided to compile a history of the struggles of the American mine workers for economic justice, we were especially fortunate in securing for this work the services of Mr. Chris Evans, one of the founders and pioneers of our organization, a man particularly qualified because of his age and long experience to chronicle its happenings from its earliest days.

Mr. Evans has attended practically every miners' convention since 1874. He was in attendance as a delegate at the convention of the Miners' National Association held in Cleveland, Ohio, in October, 1874. He was President of the Mercer County, Pennsylvania, Board and President of the Relief Committee which conducted the strike in the Mahoning and Shenango Valleys in 1875. He was President of the Hocking Valley District of Ohio, and President of the Relief Committee during the Hocking Valley strike in the years 1884-1885. He was honored by being elected Executive Secretary of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers at Indianapolis, Indiana, September 9, 1885, and served in this position for a period of four years. He was elected President of the Ohio Mine Workers' organization in January, 1889, serving in this position until he was elected Secretary of the American Federation of Labor in December, 1889, a position which he held for a period of five years. He afterwards became an organizer for the United Mine Workers of America and also for the American Federation of Labor. He was Manager of

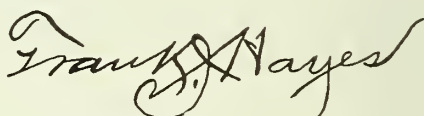
the United Mine Workers' Journal during the year 1900, and served as Statistician of the International organization from 1901 until 1908, when he retired from active service in the movement.

In view of the long and honored connection of Mr. Evans with our union and the American labor movement, we feel that the interesting experiences he has chronicled in this history will appeal most forcibly to our members and cause them to more fully realize and appreciate the achievements of our union and the great part it has played in improving the social, educational and material condition of our craftsmen.

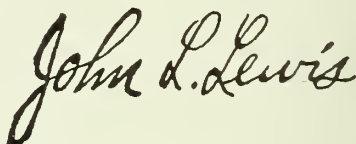
May we not say that words are inadequate to express our deep approbation of the work of the splendid men—many of them mentioned in this history—who labored so tirelessly and so ardently to make the United Mine Workers of America what it is today, the largest trade union on the American continent.

We trust that this history so ably written by our distinguished co-worker will find a place in the home of every mine worker in the land.

Fraternally yours,

A cursive handwritten signature of Frank J. Hayes.

President,

A cursive handwritten signature of John L. Lewis.

Vice-President,

A cursive handwritten signature of Wm. Green.

Secretary-Treasurer,

United Mine Workers of America.

INTRODUCTION

IT was with a rather modest degree of pride that Brother Dennis H. Sullivan and I accepted the appointment made by President John P. White of the United Mine Workers of America, and unanimously concurred in by the International Executive Board, to compile and write a history, confined to the work and achievements of the United Mine Workers of America.

With deep sorrow, however, through the continued illness and subsequent death of Brother Sullivan, which, together with his life's work, will be recorded in a later volume, the preparation of this history and compilation for publication devolved upon me.

If in the performance of the duties assigned there appears a lack of essentials necessary to gain the admiration and goodwill of my fellow workers and friends, it will not be for want of effort on the part of the author, to try and win their approbation and respect.

In the field of endeavor undertaken it is not intended to set an historical pace of superiority, nor is it expected that the light given will shine with any unusual effect. The entire aim has been to present facts of past and present events, with as great conciseness and clearness of expression as ability warrants, based upon a just regard for consistency, uniformity and truth in the narration of incidents, with available accuracy, the best within the confines of research and attainment.

In compiling the data required it was found difficult to gather, but from a well-established devotion to a principle for which a life's work had been spent it was accepted without hesitation as a labor of love, accompanied with the ardent hope that the confidence reposed has not been misplaced.

In the preparation and publication of this work the intention is to give its readers an official history taken from the records of the United Mine Workers' publications, when available, including the *National Labor Tribune*, in which was found some valuable data from the year 1880 to 1890, together

with a goodly portion of observation work encountered in the school of experience, confiding in the belief that it will be of value to those that were deprived of witnessing the early struggles, or were not allowed the opportunity to play their part in the scenes that generally followed.

The greater part of the early data, both anthracite and bituminous, was found in the archives at home, after ransacking several old valises and suitcases, that were much brighter in appearance when in active service through states and territories in days gone by.

To the many friends that rendered aid in the collection of material we owe a debt of gratitude for assistance given, including those whose names may not appear.

An acknowledgment is also due to the Historical Society of Schuylkill county, located at Pottsville, Pennsylvania, and to its much esteemed president, Mr. Baird Halberstadt, for the loan of documents for my perusal, that contained valuable notes of information on the early history of Anthracite Mine Workers.

It is but fair to assume that the history proposed by the officers and members of the National Executive Board of the United Mine Workers will cover a period of time that many of the present day workers had not the opportunity to witness, hence can hardly be expected to compare the cost between then and now. For this and similar reasons I commend the thought that prompted the act—to have a record made of the early movement of the mine workers that helped to crush some of the cobble stones and make the future pathway clearer, so that the self-propelling auto of today could run at greater speed through increased territory, loaded with convincing proofs of improvements made and now enjoyed in the car of reform.

CHRIS EVANS.

CHAPTER I.

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA.

IN writing a history of the United Mine Workers of America it must of necessity include the origin or means by which this acknowledged power of organized effort gained its present extraordinary standing of influence and use. In order to make this clear to the observing mind incidents must be related that, while local in character, will lead us on to the main object in view.

Mine workers have been organized into local unions in the United States since the year 1849. On the date named John Bates, a coal miner, entered the field and organized a union in the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania. The low wages paid for coal mining, together with the "pluck me" stores that had already invaded the district, contributed largely, then as now, in reducing the real wages paid. These conditions created a feeling of unrest in the minds of the early pioneers, the result of which was a strike for rights, unquestionably due, but proved to be a serious mistake in judgment that caused the union spirit to lie dormant for a time in the hard coal field.

A few years later, however, independent unions were organized in the anthracite, as well as in the bituminous southern coal field of Illinois, and through the constant agitation that followed in the localities named wages were said to have been greatly increased during the early stages of the Civil War.

Toward the close of the year 1860 the mine workers of southern Illinois on the Belleville tract became active participants in the interest of a national union, brought about through the energetic work in that direction of Thomas Lloyd and Daniel Weaver. These two miners, credited with their full share of union spirit, and imbued with an invincible firmness of will to champion what they with others believed to be

their rights, continued their activity, the result of which was the organizing of a national union of mine workers in the United States.

Daniel Weaver, a man of great intelligence, a profound thinker of the problems confronting the single-handed workers of his trade, together with his well-matured convictions that the bonds of unity among his fellows must be strengthened, concentrated the thoughts of his master mind on the needs of the hour and issued the following address:

To the Miners of the United States:

The necessity of an association of miners, and of those branches of industry immediately connected with mining operations, having for its objects the physical, mental and social elevation of the miner, has long been felt by the thinking portion of miners generally.

Union is the great fundamental principle by which every object of importance is to be accomplished. Man is a social being, and if left to himself, in an isolated condition, would be one of the weakest creatures; but, associated with his kind, he works wonders. Men can do jointly what they can not do singly; and the *union* of minds and hands, the concentration of their power, becomes almost omnipotent. Nor is this all; men not only accumulate power by union, but gain warmth and earnestness. There is an electric sympathy kindled, and the attractive forces inherent in human nature are called into action, and a stream of generous emotion, of a friendly regard for each other, binds together and animates the whole.

If men would spread one set of opinions, or crush another, they make society. Would they improve the sanitary condition of our towns, light our streets with gas, or supply our dwellings with water, they form societies. From the organization of our armies, our railroad and banking companies, down through every minute ramification of society to trades associations and sick societies, men have learned the power and efficiency of co-operation, and are, therefore, determined to stand by each other. How long, then, will miners remain isolated—antagonistic to each other? Does it not behoove us, as miners, to use every means to elevate our position in society by a reformation of character, by obliterating all personal animosities and frivolous nationalities, abandoning our pernicious habits and degrading pursuits, and striving for the attainment of pure and high principles and generous motives, which will fit us to bear a manly, useful and honorable part in the world? Our unity is essential to the attainment of our own rights and

the amelioration of our present condition; and our voices must be heard in the legislative halls of our land. There it is that our complaints must be made and our rights defined. The insatiable maw of Capital would devour every vestige of Labor's rights; but we must demand legislative protection; and to accomplish this we must organize. Our remedy, our safety, our protection, our dearest interests, and the social well-being of our families, present and future, depend on our unity, our duty, and our regard for each other.

In laying before you, therefore, the objects of this association, we desire it to be understood that our objects are not merely pecuniary, but to mutually instruct and improve each other in knowledge, which is power; to study the laws of life, the relation of Labor to Capital; politics, municipal affairs, literature, science or any other subject relating to the general welfare of our class. Has not experience and observation taught us what one of the profoundest thinkers of the present day has said, that "All human interests, and combined human endeavors and social growth in this world have, at certain stages of their developments, required organizing; and Labor—the grandest of human interests—requires it now. There must be an organization of Labor; to begin with it straightway, to proceed with it, and succeed in it more and more." One of America's immortals said, "To me there is no East, no West, no North, no South," and I would say, let there be no English, no Irish, Germans, Scotch or Welsh. This is our country, and

"All men are brethren—how the watchwords run!
And when men act as such is justice won."

Come, then, and rally around the standard of union—the union of States and the unity of miners—and with honesty of purpose, zeal and watchfulness—the pledge of success—unite for the emancipation of our labor and the regeneration and elevation, physically, mentally and morally, of our species.

Yours on behalf of the miners,

DANIEL WEAVER.

In conformity with the address quoted a convention was held on the 28th of January, 1861, at St. Louis, Missouri, composed of representative miners from Illinois and Missouri, and organized the American Miners' Association, the first national union of mine workers organized in the United States.

The closing sentences of this inspiring address expresses the magnitude of mind the writer possessed when he pictured

the duties we owe to each other as miners, whether "English, Irish, German, Scotch or Welsh," after landing on the American shores. We are in full accord with the beautiful sentiments expressed, and the words he quoted: "There should be no East, no West, no North, no South." Every act of the American miner should be one of brotherhood, based on the eternal fitness of things that are calculated to make us all one and inseparable, when the question of nationality has a tendency to injure, or mar the influence of our collective strength in the battle for right.

In the organization of the national union Thomas Lloyd was elected president, Daniel Weaver, secretary, and Ralph Green, treasurer.

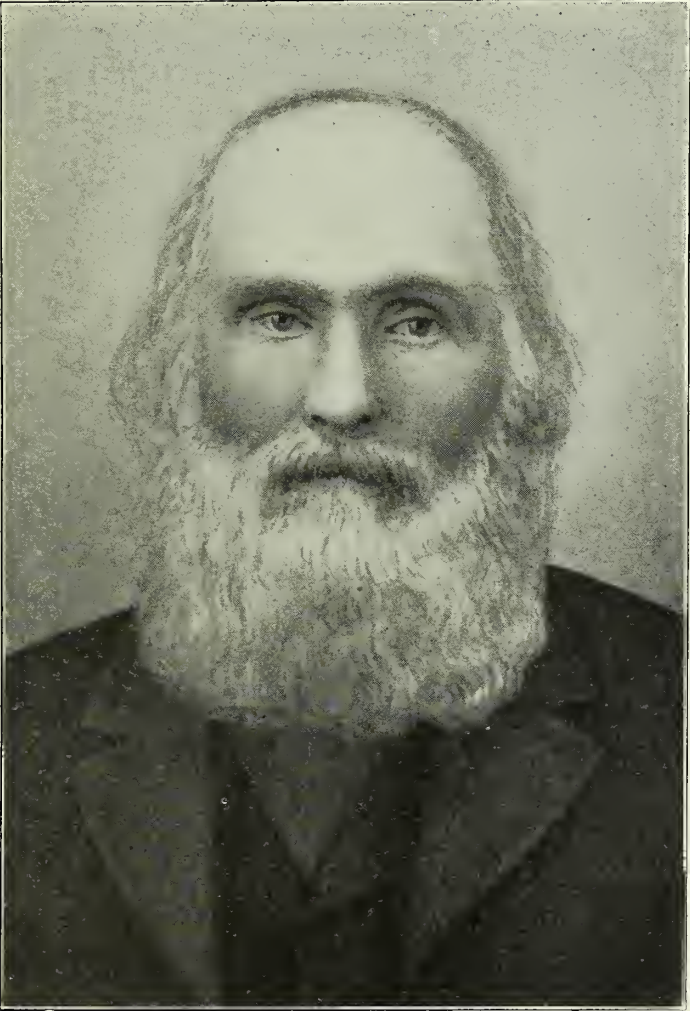
In the preamble the manifold dangers of the mines, emanating from noxious gases, explosions, unsafe roofs and imperfect ventilation, were all set forth as cautious reminders of duty required for the preservation of life and limb while working in the mines.

The constitution was prefaced by the following lines:

Step by step the longest march
Can be won, can be won;
Single stones will form an arch
One by one, one by one.
And by union, what we will
Can be all accomplished still.
Drops of water turn a mill,
Singly none, singly none.

The single-handed work of organization, with its lack of strength to meet the wants of these now enthusiastic miners had, to their minds, already proved its inability to render the proper aid necessary for effectual work. The need of a stronger solidification of forces could be seen and heard on every hand, and the only solution visible to them was an organization that would reach the miners in all coal producing States.

The constitution adopted made provisions for organizing local unions or lodges, these in turn to organize districts, all to be governed by a general board of supervision consisting of a president, one vice-president, one secretary and treasurer, and one delegate from each local lodge was elected annually



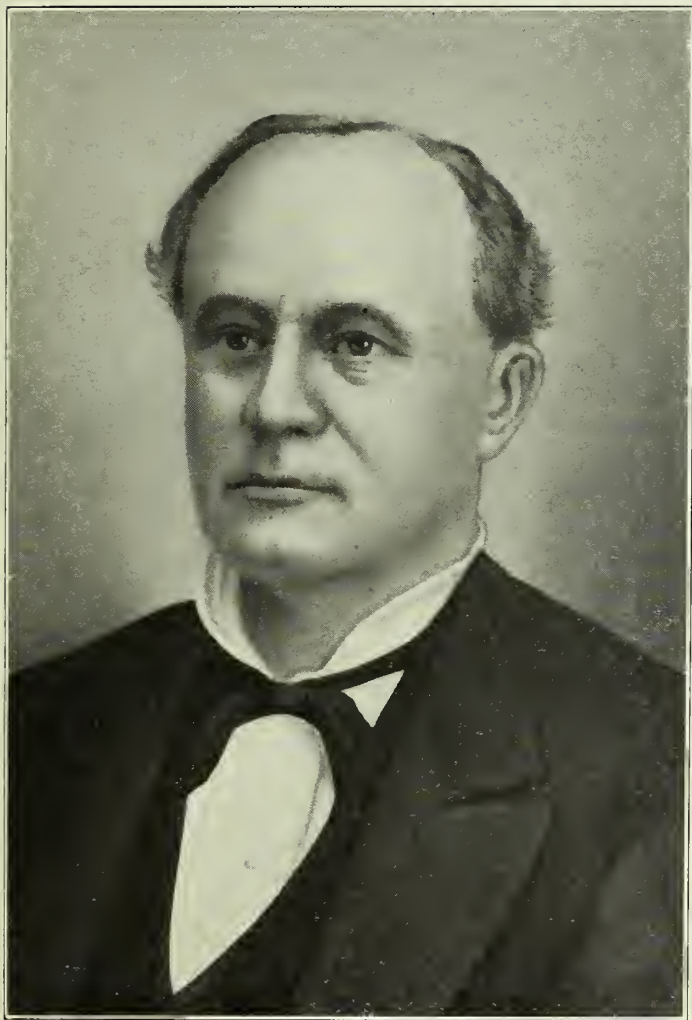
THOMAS LLOYD

by the local lodges named. The delegate elected was allowed one vote for every twenty members represented. The general officers were elected for two years by the delegates, or until their successors were elected and qualified. Meetings were to be held annually, with the provision that a majority of the local lodges could call a special meeting of the board when necessary.

Daniel Weaver, founder of the organization, had been a long-time resident in the mining district of the Belleville tract. His ripened years and well-trained mind, so vividly portrayed in his address, proved to be a great incentive for aid and support. The fact that he had educated himself in the experimental school of thought to help his fellows contributed much toward the success that followed.

Thomas Lloyd was also an energetic worker in the cause for increased unity, a man past the middle age of life, with unusual power as a speaker, and the principal supporter of Weaver in the organization of the American Miners' Association.

After the national union had been organized Martin Burke and a man by the name of Roeser became active, eloquent and successful organizers, and through the earnest and collective work of these four men the organization spread rapidly throughout the district and other portions of the United States. The collective desire for organization had, by this time, established itself and the new recruits added enlisted a more confidential spirit for increased activity on national lines. To this end a paper was published called the *Weekly Miner*, and made their official organ, with John Hinchcliffe as editor. Hinchcliffe was a man of unusual intelligence, a ready writer and possessed an acquired knowledge that made him efficient for the work, and above all, was considered a very consistent advocate of trades unions in the mining field. He was elected the second president of the American Miners' Association. In 1870 he was elected a member of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Illinois, and in 1871, through the miners' influence and support, he was elected to the legislature. Two years later he was elected a State Senator, and until death enjoyed the full confidence of all the miners asso-



JOHN HINCHCLIFFE

ciated with him. The *Weekly Miner* was afterwards sold to Andrew Cameron, a practical printer, and was published as the *Workingman's Advocate*, in Chicago, and proved to be a great power in the industrial field.

CHAPTER II.

EXTENSION.

The American Miners' Association began to spread its usefulness through the northern portion of Illinois, and in many of the other coal-producing States. In the Blossburg district of Pennsylvania a local union was organized in 1863, and through its influence, together with the increased demand for coal, during the Civil war, the price of mining was advanced from 35 cents to \$1.10 a ton. In the Tuscarawas, Mahoning and Hocking valleys of Ohio local and district associations were organized under different names, but their forms and usages closely resembled those used by the branches of the national union, with headquarters at Belleville, Illinois. The Tuscarawas district union was named Massillon Miners' Association, organized in March, 1863. In the Schuylkill county region of the anthracite field the Workingmen's Benevolent Society of Carbon County was organized in 1864.

In 1865 the miners of the Blossburg district of Pennsylvania asked for an advance of 15 cents per ton. The operators refused the demands made and a strike was entered into. During the strike several of the miners' wives were very conspicuous in tantalizing the county sheriff and company hirelings that accompanied them in the work of evicting miners and their families from the company houses they occupied. After a cessation of work for several months the miners were forced to surrender and compelled to sign an old-time iron-clad contract that they would give up the union and resume work at a reduced rate instead of an advance. This was a hard nut for the sturdy union miner to crack.

During the following year, 1866, the Blossburg Coal Company opened up an immense tract of coal land a few miles from Blossburg, named Arnot, where they built up a town of

nearly three thousand inhabitants, but the miners' union was kept in the background.

In the years that followed internal dissensions were rife, and through strikes entered into in the years 1867 and 1868 the American Miners' Association lost its hold and gradually dwindled away. In some sections of the country efforts were made to revive it the following year, but because of a lack of united action all efforts proved unavailable.

From this time on local unions continued to organize in Illinois, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Maryland, Ohio and other states, but for several years there was no national union.

In the early part of the year 1868 a miners' union was organized in the anthracite coal field at St. Clair, Schuylkill county, Pennsylvania, entitled the Workingmen's Benevolent Association of Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania.

John Siney, who had made his home in St. Clair since the year 1863, and was working at the Eagle colliery in St. Clair, having been an active worker in the formation of the union, was elected president, and George Herbert, secretary. The organizing of this coal miners' union attracted widespread attention on the part of the coal operators of the anthracite field, and the union officials were often made subjects of severe and unjust criticism. Referring to the first organization of the Workingmen's Benevolent Association, the miners' journal, *Coal Statistical Register*, of Pottsville, Pennsylvania, for 1870, says:

The first combined organization was effected in Luzerne county about five years ago among the men against these companies, and after a suspension of about four months the men were starved out, and the organization was partially broken up in that county.

Letter from President John Siney to the *Pottsville Journal* on "The Objects of the Workingmen's Benevolent Association of Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania":

St. Clair, Pennsylvania, December 2, 1868.

Were I competent to do justice to the serious task imposed by the interests of our association and by the request of the members I should not pause, for a moment, for apology; but, as such is not the case, I can but offer to do the best I can, under the circumstances, being fully assured that my fellow

workmen, to whom these remarks are especially directed, will fully understand me.

The object of the Workingmen's Benevolent Association is to unite in one band of brotherhood all who earn their bread by hard toil—more especially the miners and laborers of Pennsylvania. Benevolence is not sectional, but willingly assists all who need assistance. But, before we can assist one another we must become united, so that, to whatever locality the miner may move, he will find a home and friends to take care of him. The necessity of the case is plain. Since, from the great danger in the business we follow we have become outcasts from all other benevolent societies; then who will deny us this right and why all this fuss about the miners? Must he become a subject of criticism and reproach if he adopts measures, in his simple way, for his own protection, or must he suffer to be scoffed at and abused simply for being a miner, who toils for the comfort and profit of others? Who ever heard of an educated man mining for a livelihood? Then must the ignorance of the miner be entailed on his children, or must he never rise from that ignorance for which he is not responsible?

Our eyes are being opened and we look back at our folly for not sooner uniting ourselves for our mutual benefit.

All sectional feeling will cease in our organization, and its simple, honest principles will carry us safely through all our difficulties.

One common country—that in which we live—and one political creed only is known in our association. Without obligations, signs or password we move along, fearless of impostors, and determined to judge for ourselves in the future, having dearly learned that our labor is our own capital, that our company is a strong one, and that its stock is always worth its par value. Let preachers preach on and politicians seek for office and, above all, let editors of newspapers in the interest of boasted, large corporations, blow away against the miners' interests. Let him make a covert of his designs by abusing and stigmatizing the Schuylkill county miner and the industrious, individual enterprise of our coal operators. We will press on in the good work of reform until our purpose is accomplished—until all the counties work together as one strong man, without any claim of preference whatever or fear of results from honest, honorable claims. We have no idea of begging or parleying for our rights, or to claim them in an underhand and disguised manner; that day has gone by. The operator can now make his calculations without the risk of being undersold by those great New York corporations for their speculative purposes. The miner must be rewarded for his dangerous labor without leaving it to the mercy of such

tyrants. He will suffer no longer to be driven to his work like a sheep to the slaughter.

Fellow workmen of Scranton and vicinity, we congratulate you on your success so far. You must have deprived yourselves of many comforts to secure those "tidy little homes" your local editor of the *Morning Republican* says you possess. I say your local editor because, in his allusions to the miner of Schuylkill county he shows a gross ignorance of the conditions of that individual, and referring to mode of life, etc., he shows further his ignorance, and that he must have based his information concerning our manner, our houses and our churches on something he has read, in times gone by, about Molly McGuire's "Buckshots," etc., etc., never once giving us the credit that our association is not yet nine months old; and furthermore that it is not responsible for the action of the whole community. By the rules of the association all acts of violence are strictly forbidden, and any member found guilty of such will not only be expelled from the association, but from the county also, and we hope soon to say, from the six anthracite counties, for where our laws go they will carry with them strict adherence to social law and order.

Tendering you the thanks of our association for the kind reception you gave myself and colleague while among you, and tendering also our best wishes for your success, we hope for a speedy union with you, to the end that we will all labor, in concert, for our mutual benefit. Let us show to the world that the miner is not such a degraded animal as is generally supposed—lives in the mountains, to accommodate city folk and to enrich large corporations, at the risk of health and life, in dismal coal pits for whatever paltry pittance they see fit to give us.

Very respectfully,

JOHN SINEY, President.

(To Be Continued.)

John Siney continued in *Pottsville Journal*, December 12, 1868:

"Workingmen's Benevolent Association of Schuylkill County":

St. Clair, Pennsylvania, December 9, 1868.

The Scranton *Morning Republican* admits that the large corporation of Luzerne has control of the coal market and that Schuylkill is no longer worthy of notice. That is very proper, for no doubt the consumer has thought that the operator and miner here are to blame for the uncertain state of the coal trade and, after a tirade of abuse against the Schuylkill miner and laborer, he winds up by saying:

“The companies give their workmen an attentive hearing and deal with them fairly, as they themselves would be dealt by.”

Can it be possible, in the face of every day occurrence, a man supposed to know the transactions of corporations would, for a moment, believe that they, the corporations, have the least sympathy for their workmen or the general public, or does he suppose that the miners are so far gone in ignorance that they should wait for the “golden rule” to be adopted by merciless corporations? But how did they deal with their workmen after running the coal up to exorbitant prices—prices that neither the Schuylkill operator or miner wished to see? They gave them 17 per cent raise in wages since the first of last July. Here I remark that the railroads are their own, so that no additional cost of transportation was added to them, but that paltry rise took a strike to gain it. Where was the “golden rule” then, or why, after getting a rise of 75 per cent, did they not divide with their workmen? Contrast the individual operator of Schuylkill with a railroad, monopolizing and extorting whenever the least opportunity offers, with no redress from their charges whatever they may be. The rise of coal is very little advantage to our operators, for as fast as it rises the Reading railroad takes the lion’s share. Then comes the middle men with their haul, and nothing short of doubling the usual charge is demanded by them. Now, in the face of all those charges the operator of Schuylkill has raised the workmen’s wages over 40 per cent since the first of July. Compare that with the fair dealing of corporations and I think you will side with the individual enterprise of our operators, amongst whom the poor man, if he can find a coal vein, will have equal rights to work it, in his own way, and become rich, if successful in the vein he opens.

Miners and laborers, look well to your interests; it is your duty, it is your right, to be well paid for such a business as you follow. You need not sell yourselves to corporations, under value, nor trust to them for sympathy while you can earn your living. You have evidence enough of how much the capitalists regard the “golden rule” by the replies your committees brought back from the surrounding collieries of Hyde Park, Scranton and vicinity. How humiliating to honest labor to get such treatment; for instance: “* * * the large companies will give as much as the small companies and the small companies will give as much as the large companies.” Not even a civil answer is given to those appointed to ask a share of the 75 per cent rise in coal. “No more than that already given” was the stern reply of the leading agent of one of those large corporations. The *Morning Republican* loves to blow

about it and "that already given was 17 per cent," 58 must go to swell the coffers of already rich men regardless of the wants of the workmen or their families.

The miner and laborer may well wish to be united, to withstand such odds—combined corporations. The answers were all arranged previously, for eight reports, although given in a different way, amounted to the same. And that was the attentive hearing they got from their employers.

Workmen of Luzerne, you have a decided advantage over us of Schuylkill. You are so much nearer the markets, and you have very few other difficulties to which the miner and laborer of Schuylkill county is subject. Therefore we readily agree to give you the lead in any way that is honorable to help to better the condition of the workmen of the anthracite coal region by having regular, reasonable wages for an honest day's work, so that no more strikes or demands will have to be made at any place in the six counties on account of wages. Such fluctuations are not known in any other business, and it need not be in the coal business after we become united; it is very easy to stop when the market is full, for every ton of coal mined after that deranges the market and creates bad feeling at home and abroad, and to accomplish that end is the main object of the association. Believing, as I do, of its ultimate good to us and the operator and consumer, I shall continue to labor in the cause, with no other object or expectation of reward than that of a consciousness that I hope to benefit my fellow workmen.

Very respectfully,

JOHN SINEY, President.

Prior to the organization of the Workmen's Benevolent Association an eight-hour law had been enacted by the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1867 through the solicitation and active work of the mine workers, to take effect the first of July, 1868, with a provision inserted, at the instigation of the coal operators, making eight hours a legal working day only in cases where there was no agreement to the contrary. This provisional agreement, with its wily intention on the part of the coal operators to evade the real substance of statute law, and the miners' refusal to act jointly with them in signing it, caused a cessation of employment and the mines lay idle for several weeks, after which the miners were advised by their officials to resume work. The conclusions reached by the officials of the union were based on their inability to succeed in the face of a falling market for coal.

After the close of the Civil War the soldier miners returned in large numbers to their former homes, and this, together with a declining market for their product, decreased the miners' earnings to an alarming degree. As a relief for the tendency of an overstocked market the question arose as to whether or not it would be advisable to restrict the output by a suspension of work. The miners' officials insisted that restriction ought to be applied when wages were good rather than when they were bad. With this belief the following order was issued from the general office of the miners' union:

Pottsville, Pennsylvania, April 20, 1869.

We, the Executive Committee of the Workingmen's Benevolent Association, do hereby unanimously adopt the following resolutions, to-wit:

Resolved, That we, the Executive Committee of the W. B. A., do hereby give notice to all our employers and consumers of coal that there will be a general suspension of work to take place Monday, the 10th day of May, 1869.

Resolved, That all work will be suspended except rock work, tunneling and repairing, but no coal is to be cut under any circumstances.

Resolved, That the foregoing resolutions be published in the *Miners' Journal*, the *Pottsville Standard*, the *Workman's Advocate*, and *Philadelphia Press*.

(Signed)

JOHN SINEY, President.

GEORGE CORBETT, Secretary.

This unexpected and daring move of the miners provoked the coal operators and was branded and stigmatized by them as outrageous in the extreme. All the denunciations, however, and threats of the public press were set at naught, and the call to suspend work met with a general and almost unanimous response, with the exception of a few mines where increased wages were paid.

After five weeks' suspension the overstocked market was reduced to normal and the following order, with conditions required for the resumption of work, was published:

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

Mahanoy City, Pennsylvania, June 9, 1869.

WHEREAS, We, the Miners' Benevolent Association of the anthracite coal fields of Pennsylvania, suspended work on the 10th day of May, almost unanimously; and,

WHEREAS, The object of our doing so has been to a great extent accomplished, to-wit, the reduction or depletion of the surplus of coal already in the market, together with the preventing if possible the enormous oversupply that was going to the market, therefore not only keeping the price of labor down to last winter's prices, but would eventually compel either a local suspension or reduction of wages, and in consequence local strikes; and,

WHEREAS, The public press of the country in most instances, through which public opinion is formed and expressed, has denounced our association in this its first movement, representing that we have designed to run up prices to an exorbitant height, and in some instances even threatened to appeal to Congress to repeal the tariff on foreign coal, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That we do not, nor have we desired to run the price of coal up too high in the market, but on the contrary prefer a steady, healthy market, which will afford to the operators and dealers fair interest on their investments, and at the same time that we may receive a fair day's wages for a fair day's work.

RESOLVED, That taking into consideration the great risk and danger the miner and mine laborer has to incur in pursuing his daily occupation, we claim that we should receive pay commensurate with said risk and danger, and should not be stinted down to the lowest prices given to common laborers whose employments are safe and free from all risk of life and limb; and finally,

RESOLVED, That on and after the 16th inst. all districts or branches of districts which can agree with their employers as to basis and conditions of resumption do resume work.

By order of committee.

JOHN PARKER, Chairman.

T. M. WILLIAMS, Secretary.

While the suspension was continued a sentiment was created in favor of a sliding scale to govern wages paid. This view had been strongly advocated by John Siney, John Parker and other leading miners, and was made a condition upon which work should be resumed. These conditions being

accepted, a joint scale for the Schuylkill and Lehigh regions between operators and miners was agreed upon as follows:

In the Lehigh region the scale was based on the selling price of coal at tidewater at \$5 per ton. When coal sold at \$5 miners were to receive 57½ cents per ton in the mammoth vein and 15 per cent advance when it sold for \$6 per ton. In the Schuylkill region the basis was made on the price of coal at Port Carbon. When coal sold at \$3 a ton the same price per ton as in the Lehigh regions was to be paid to miners. For day work \$16 per week was to be paid in both valleys. If the operators chose to sell below the basis the miners' wages were not to be reduced, but were to be advanced 5 cents per ton when coal sold at Port Carbon at 25 cents above the basis price.

The operation and results of the sliding scale in the Schuylkill region during the year follows:

June	-----	10 per cent above basis
July	-----	15 per cent above basis
August	-----	35 per cent above basis
September	-----	basis
October	-----	10 per cent above basis
November	-----	15 per cent above basis
December	-----	basis

CHAPTER III.

FIRST JOINT AGREEMENT.

In the year 1870 an agreement was entered into between the Anthracite Board of Trade and a committee of the Workingmen's Benevolent Association of which the following is a copy:

Agreement made at Pottsville, Pennsylvania, 29th day of July, 1870, between the committee of the Anthracite Board of Trade and the committee of the Workingmen's Benevolent Association:

It is agreed that the Workingmen's Benevolent Association shall not sustain any man who is discharged for incompetency, bad workmanship, bad conduct, or other good cause; and that the operators shall not discharge any man or officer

for actions or duties imposed on him by the Workingmen's Benevolent Association.

It is further agreed that the spirit and intention of the resolution (called the equality resolution) passed by the Workingmen's Benevolent Association is that each man shall work regularly, and it is the place of the bosses and operators to see that he does.

The resolution is that any miner earning above expenses over one hundred dollars and less than one hundred and twenty-five dollars per month shall be reduced 10 per cent on the basis, and any miner earning over \$125 and under \$150 per month shall be reduced 20 per cent on the basis. Any miner earning over \$150 and under \$200 per month shall be reduced 30 per cent on the basis, and any miner earning over \$200 per month shall be reduced 40 per cent on the basis.

For obtaining the price of coal monthly the president of the Anthracite Board of Trade and the president of the Workingmen's Association of Schuylkill county shall meet on the 25th day of each month and select five operators, who shall on the 25th following produce a statement, sworn to or affirmed, of the prices of coal at Port Carbon for all sizes above pea coal.

The five operators shall be selected from a list of those shipping over forty thousand tons of coal annually and none shall be selected a second time until the list is exhausted.

The price of coal so obtained shall fix the rate of wages for that month, and this agreement in regard to the mode of obtaining prices shall remain in force during the year 1870.

WILLIAM KENDRICK,
J. K. SIGFRIED,
M. P. FOWLER,
BAIRD SNYDER,
SAMUEL E. GRIMSON,
Operators.

JOHN SINEY,
GEORGE CORBETT,
GEORGE ATTHEY,
JAMES BARRY,
ROBERT WEIGHTMAN,
Miners.

In 1870 the name of Workingmen's Benevolent Association was legally changed to Miners and Laborers' Benevolent Association, but the old name was still continued and often used.

The suspension and sliding scale, together with a mining law that had been enacted by the Pennsylvania Legislature through the efforts of the union, caused the miners to feel elated at their success, while the operators, on the other hand, became chagrined and were very ill-tempered as a result. Both miners and operators had now reached a point where rivalry for supremacy was manifested to a degree plainly visible, and the power of each was displayed in several attacks made. The coal operators showed a determination to shatter the power of the Workingmen's Benevolent Association, and the miners, more active than ever, with Siney as their guiding spirit, fought every effort made by the operators to destroy the union that had done so much for them.

The operators chose John Siney as the target for abuse through their official paper, *The Miners' Journal*, published at Pottsville. The miners also had their official organ, called the *Anthracite Monitor*, with John Parker as editor. The mean and abusive attacks made on Siney increased his strength with the miners, but through the overzealous spirit of a few of the thin coal miners, who asked for more wages than the scale of prices called for, the situation was made hard for the officials to control.

The operators refused the demands made, a cessation of work followed that ended in the enforcement of the Pennsylvania conspiracy laws, through which miners were put in prison and a general ill feeling created which proved disastrous to all parties interested. This incarceration of miners opened the way for further exactions on the part of the operators that provoked strikes, and the mines were closed for several months.

A convention of miners was held at Bloomington, Illinois, in January, 1871, and organized the Illinois Miners' Benevolent and Protective Association, but made very little progress and soon wasted away.

In 1872 branches of the Miners and Laborers' Association of the anthracite region were being formed in many of the bituminous coal-producing States, including Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Kentucky, West Virginia and Michigan. While a few of the Western States did not use the same name,

its influence aroused the miners in general to action as never before. Indiana, Illinois and Missouri organized a union, known as the Miners' Benevolent and Protective Association, and the officers elected were John Morgan, president, Walton Rutledge, secretary, and Patrick McCann, treasurer, with similar objects in view.

The Miners and Laborers' Benevolent Association, with John Siney as president, was considered strong numerically, and its every move was watched with great eagerness the country over. There was no State organization in Ohio at this time, but the Tuscarawas, Mahoning and Hocking valleys of Ohio contributed largely towards the success attained. John Pollock of North Lawrence, Stark county, and H. C. Comstock of Nelsonville, Ohio, were very active representatives of Ohio miners. On several occasions they appeared before committees of the Legislature, urging the passage of a bill that was afterwards enacted into law, but a clause in the bill calling for two mine inspectors had been stricken out. The provisions of the bill were not all the miners required, but they continued their agitation against much opposition from the coal operators until better conditions for the miners were secured, through amendments made, giving increased ventilation together with other improvements for the protection of life and limb through accidents in the mines.

Preceding the passage of the mining law for Ohio, Andrew Roy had written a series of letters to newspapers on the regulation and ventilation of mines that invited the attention of both miners and operators, and early in January, 1871, was sent to Columbus by the miners of the State to urge the passage of laws in their interest. Owing to a strong lobby of mine owners there that was opposing the legislation with more than ordinary effect, Roy thought it advisable to favor the appointment of a commission by the Governor to investigate and report the condition the mines were in.

Through a joint resolution passed by both houses of the Legislature a commission was appointed by Governor Hayes consisting of Charles Reemelin of Cincinnati, Benjamin Skinner of Pomeroy and Andrew Roy of Church Hill, the latter representing the miners on the board. Majority and minority reports were made to the governor by the commissioners that

caused much delay in the legislation required. The expenses of the delegates sent to the state capital were paid by the miners of the entire state.

John Pollock was at one time financial secretary of the American Miners' Association, and was a delegate to the Industrial Congress of all trades held in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1873. He was one of the miners' delegates there that signed the address issued to the miners of the United States urging upon them the necessity of holding a national convention to be held at Youngstown, Ohio, in October, 1873, for the purpose of organizing a national union. He was president of the Tuscarawas valley miners of Ohio for several years and was an organizer for the Miners and Laborers' Association for three years. He was always considered an able official, earnest in his work for the miners' best interest, and willing at all times to lead them in a struggle for the maintenance of their rights when justly due.

Alonzo D. Fassett, a young man of courageous temperament, was owner and editor of what was known as the *Miners' Journal*, published at Youngstown, Ohio. Andrew Roy was assistant editor, and wrote several articles on mines and mining under the nom de plume of Jock Pittbrecks. Chris Evans subscribed for the *Journal* and became deeply interested in its contents. On one occasion he wrote a letter to the *Journal* for publication under a nom de plume. The editor, in the next issue, said he would gladly publish the article if the writer would give his name. Not being fully acquainted then with the editor's intention, and David Roy, the mine boss under whom he worked, who was also a brother of the assistant editor, having previously taken him to task for writing letters already published, Chris moved cautiously along until he became better acquainted with the surroundings.

The mines were located near a village called Hermitage, in Mercer county, Pennsylvania, about five miles from the Ohio state line. The question of organization was freely indulged in at times, but the lack of a place in which to meet was often used as a means to check the movement to solidify the miners' ranks for better protection against the many impositions forced upon them. At this juncture Andrew Roy was engaged in drilling for coal in the immediate territory, and rendered

valuable assistance to the miners that were agitating the advisability of building a hall. After weeks of discussion a little hall was built by the miners at a cost of about four hundred dollars, and no better investment could have been made in a mining camp where the boarding house, with all its tendencies, was the only place available to pass the weary hours away. When the hall was completed Andrew Roy was the leading spirit in organizing a literary society, and the interesting topics discussed proved of great value and was an educator to all alike who took advantage of the opportunities presented. The hall was used for every purpose, including a meeting room for the miners, a lecture room, church gatherings of all denominations, and a day school for the children at the mines.

On the 20th of March, 1874, a new mining law was enacted in the state of Ohio providing for the appointment of a state inspector of mines, and on April 6 Governor Allen, after receiving a unanimous recommendation from the miners of the state, appointed Andrew Roy as the first inspector of Ohio mines.

Alonzo D. Fassett, the indomitable editor of the *Miners' Journal*, was, in later years, elected to the Ohio state senate, where he proved to be a fearless exponent of liberty and who possessed a character well calculated to command the respect and admiration of all believers in justice and equity.

Organization seemed to be the watchword now in nearly all the mining states. The leading men realized, however, that to meet the ever increasing troubles surrounding them, a united and solidified effort was necessary so that all could get together instead of contesting separately for the redress of wrongs that were being imposed upon them.

At an industrial congress held in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1873, all trades were invited to participate, and the miners, with a fair representation present, met by themselves after the congress adjourned to devise ways and means whereby the many miners' local unions already organized could act together for the better protection of the mining trade. After a quiet though effective consultation together it was wisely decided that the best solution possible was a concentration of their collective strength that would enable them to use it effectively

through a national union, and from this deliberative body of deeply interested miners the following address was issued:

To the Miners of the United States:

Fellow Workmen—It is a well-established fact—a fact demonstrated by bitter personal experience—that there is no class in the community whose labors are so unrequited, and who are so much the victims of the heartless demands of capital and corporations, as the miners. In our present isolated condition we are powerless to resist them. Increasing as their agencies are in power and influence it requires no prophet to foretell the position the miner must occupy in a few years, unless immediate steps are taken to unite us under a common head, having for its objects the bettering of our social, moral and financial condition. The great desideration of the hour is a bond of union, a consolidation of interests, a unity of action—in fact, the establishment of a miners' national organization whose influence will be exerted in our behalf and whose strength will be sufficient to protect us in the hour of need. A contest too often forced upon us at present means defeat and demoralization, no matter how just our demands—a contest in which a handful of men have to contend against the power of aggregated wealth. This crushing policy must be stopped, or it is idle to expect that our condition can be ameliorated.

The success which has attended the various trades which have acted on this principle shows us what unity of action can accomplish. The difficulty against which we now contend are the difficulties which they have surmounted and the reason is obvious. What the efforts of one union could not accomplish the efforts of fifty unions have accomplished. What they have done we can do, if we are willing to use the same means. These facts are so self-evident that every miner and laborer in the mines must admit their force and strength. In consideration of these facts, believing that the miners are ripe for such a movement, and in accordance with the general desire evinced on all hands, we hereby issue a call for a meeting of delegates from the various local unions, and to miners in general throughout the country, for the purpose of forming a miners' national union, to be held in the city of Youngstown, Ohio, on the second Tuesday in October, 1873.

The specific objects sought to be accomplished by the formation of such an association are as follows:

1. A consolidation of the entire body of miners of the United States for the purpose of self-protection.
2. To afford pecuniary and moral support of such districts as may be forced to the alternative of a strike.

3. For a thorough discussion of our grievances and the passage of such laws as our safety and welfare demands in the several States.

Fellow-workmen—One word in conclusion: Let every miner and laborer who reads this call realize that it is in his interest that it is issued. Act as though success depended upon your individual efforts. Make a beginning. Where no union exists form one without delay. Take steps to meet your fellow-workmen in counsel. Let the miners from Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Kentucky and Michigan—in short, from every locality where mining is carried on, “Come and reason together,” form an organization in which brother will be pledged to brother, an organization which will form a bulwark alike in the day of prosperity and adversity. Will you do so, or do you prefer to occupy your present unenviable position? The answer and the issue are in your hands.

JOHN SINEY,
St. Clair, Schuylkill Co., Pa.

JAS. O'HALLORAN,
Plymouth, Lucerne Co., Pa.

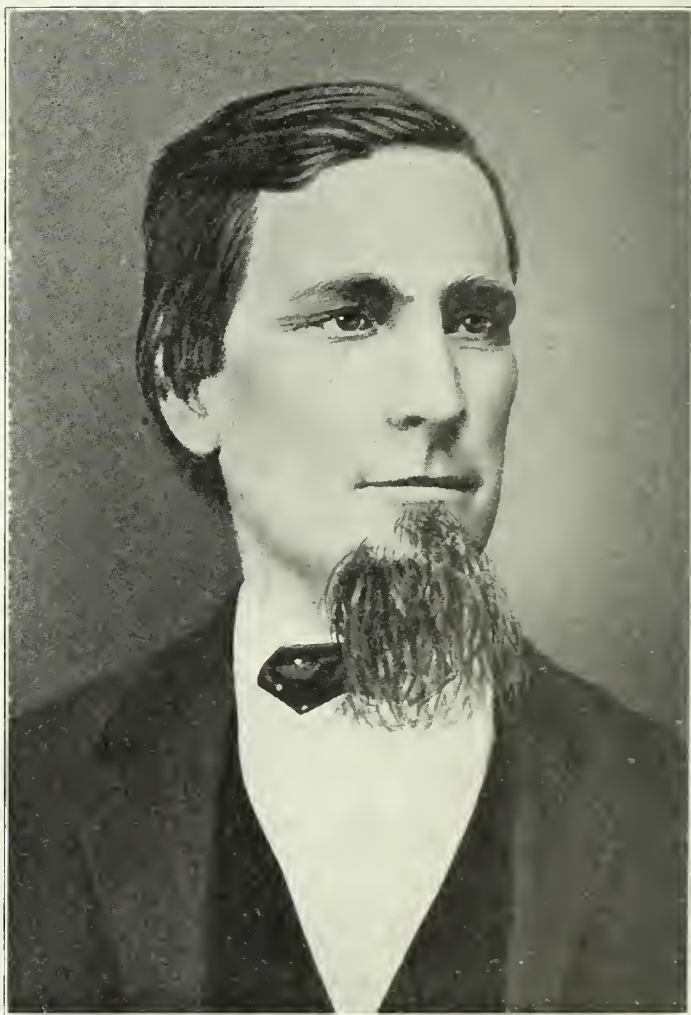
GEO. KINGHORN,
Belleville, St. Clair Co., Ill.

JOHN POLLOCK,
North Lawrence, Stark Co., O.

JOHN JAMES,
Braidwood, Will Co., Ill.

Communications addressed to John James, Braidwood, will receive prompt attention.

On reading the contents of the call issued many favorable comments were made by the labor press, and the response with which it met was of a character that bade well for its future success. The labor journals published that gave it commendable consideration included the *National Labor Tribune* of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania; the *Miners' Journal* of Youngstown, Ohio; the *Workingman's Advocate* of Chicago, Illinois, and the *Anthracite Monitor*, *The Workingman* and *The Weekly Record*, all three published in the anthracite coal field.



JOHN SINEY

CHAPTER IV.

SECOND NATIONAL UNION.

As per circular call, the convention was held in Youngstown, Ohio, October 13, 1873, with representatives present from Illinois, West Virginia, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Indiana. After the delegates had made the acquaintance of each other it was soon made manifest that John Siney was by far the most prominent among them to take the lead. The convention was in session three days, and organized a national union under the name, Miners' National Association of the United States of America. John Siney of eastern Pennsylvania was elected president, George Archibald of western Pennsylvania, vice-president; John James of Illinois, secretary, and David H. Davis of Ohio, treasurer.

All these men were prominent workers for a stronger unity of purpose, and had taken a leading part, in their respective states, toward the organization of a national union. John Siney's work in the anthracite field had spread its influence through nearly all the bituminous states. George Archibald, the vice-president, who hailed from the Pittsburg district of Pennsylvania, was equally well known in the western Pennsylvania coal field with a reputation for honor and respect that made him a tower of strength as one of the new staff of officials elected. John James, the secretary, was from Braidwood, Illinois, and had a well-trained mind in his earlier days of union affairs. He was a leading spirit in organizing the Miners' Protective Association of Illinois, was well educated, and had proven himself a worthy selection to conduct his office intelligently and on lines well calculated to succeed in the performance of duties assigned him. David H. Davis, the treasurer, was from Mineral Ridge, Ohio, and had proven himself to be a warrior of old in the Mahoning coal field, honorable to a fault and painstaking in everything he undertook to do. These were the men selected to conduct the affairs of the national union, and how well they performed their respective duties is very clearly described in the success that followed.



JOHN JAMES

SUCCESSORS TO JOHN SINEY, AS PRESIDENTS, OF THE WORKINGMEN'S BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION FROM 1872.

Siney was succeeded in the local organization by John F. Williams of Locust Dale, serving a term of one year, and was succeeded by John F. Welsh.

John F. Welsh was the last president of the old Workingmen's Benevolent Association of Schuylkill county when, at the end of a six months' strike in 1875, its forces were utterly crushed and demoralized and they abandoned the organization in despair, leaving the leaders, who had been persistently and maliciously maligned and misrepresented, to a martyrdom unequalled, perhaps, in the history of the struggle for industrial freedom in this or any other country.

John F. Welsh had the misfortune to be at the head of the organization during the stormiest period of its existence. He was fearful of the outcome, but the demand of the operators, dominated by President Gowen of the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company, was so unreasonable that he could not consent to counsel its acceptance. Subsequent events showed that the terms offered by the operators were equivalent, at times, to a reduction of 30 per cent in wages.

Mr. Welsh afterwards was forced to go to the bituminous field of western Pennsylvania to seek employment. He returned to Schuylkill county, however, a few months later, and in the fall of 1877 was walking from Forrestville to Swatara and back daily, a total distance of ten miles, for the poor privilege of earning seven or eight dollars per week. The next year he was elected to the legislature on the Greenback Labor ticket for two successive terms, and rendered valuable aid to the public and the miners in particular. During the summer of 1882 he met with an accident in the mines that caused him to leave the field of active labor union service and, while confined to his home without his consent, friends called on Frank Carter, one of the principal officials of the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company and asked whether he could not find a position for Mr. Welsh with the corporation. The reply of Mr. Carter was favorable. He said:

"I know him now as I did not know him before. He was almost always opposed to what we wanted in the legislature,

and frankly told us so. He was loyal to the men who sent him and I respect him for it. I am convinced that he would be equally loyal to any other interest he might agree to serve."

A few weeks later Mr. Welsh was summoned to Pottsville and the foremanship of Swatara Colliery tendered to him. He accepted the offer and served until transferred later to Shamokin, where in 1908, he rounded out a period of twenty-five years as mine foreman and was retired on a pension.

Many months after the demise of the miners' organization a stranger presented himself to the boss of a colliery in the west end and asked for work. Men were needed and the boss told him to bring his tools and start in at once. A little later the assistant boss happened to come out of the mine and, seeing the stranger, went over to him and greeted him warmly. The boss inquired of his subordinate, "Who is that man?" The assistant told him, "That is John Welsh." "What!" exclaimed the boss, "the president of the Miners' Union?" "Yes." "Why, he can not have work here. Go and tell him he is discharged." The assistant did as directed. He then pressed the stranger to go home with him, take supper and stay with him that night. "No," said John, "if I do it may make trouble for you."

The stranger was twenty miles from his home and probably did not have a dollar in his pocket, but he left the vicinity immediately. Later that night the superintendent of the colliery, who had been absent during the day, sent for the assistant boss and said to him: "I am told John Welsh was here today." "Yes." "Don't you think we ought to put an extra watchman at the breaker tonight?" "Why do that?" "He might burn it down." "No, there is no need for that. I'd be willing to answer with my life for any harm he will do. He is not that kind of man."

Portions of this story were told me by each of the principal participants at periods years apart. Welsh is now a retired mine official, highly esteemed by men, high up in the mining world, honored by his neighbors and loved by his friends.

J. F. PATTERSON,

Last Secretary of the Workmen's Benevolent Association.

The original charter of the Workmen's Benevolent Association was hung on the wall in a back room at Woll's hotel, later the City hotel, in Pottsville, Pennsylvania, for many years.

The last order ever issued by the Workmen's Benevolent Association is said to have been drawn under date of December 14, 1875, duly countersigned by the president, John F. Welsh, and attested by the secretary, Joseph F. Patterson, and was held as a valuable relic for many years after the union had disbanded.

A SUMMARY OF WAGES PAID IN THE ANTHRACITE COAL FIELD FOR YEARS NAMED.

Before the end of 1869 the various organizations of the coal operators, having become consolidated into the Anthracite Board of Trade, in December made a proposition to the miners that for the year 1870, when coal sold at Schuylkill Haven for \$2 a ton, wages should be: Outside labor, \$7.50; inside labor, \$8.50; miners, \$10.50 per week, contract prices to be reduced 40 per cent from the 1869 basis; when coal advanced 50 cents per ton the miners were to receive 5 per cent advance, etc.

The miners would have none of this offer. It was afterwards withdrawn and another one substituted, namely: When coal was \$2.50 per ton at Port Carbon labor should be, outside, \$9; inside, \$10, and miners \$12 per week, contract work to be reduced 30 per cent, labor to receive 20 per cent or one-fifth of the advance on the price of coal.

On April 2 the operators closed the mines until such time as the men should agree to the above proposition. April, May, June and July passed with the Schuylkill miners still idle.

About the end of July an agreement was reached between the contending parties, brought about by Mr. Franklin B. Gowen, president of the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad, and its terms came to be known as the Gowen compromise. It was as follows: When coal was \$3 a ton at Port Carbon wages were to be the same as in 1869. When coal went up 25 cents per ton the miners were to receive $8\frac{1}{4}$ per cent advance. When

it went down 25 cents they were to receive $8\frac{1}{4}$ per cent less than the 1869 basis. The change from one-fifth to one-third of the advance or decline in the price of coal looked like a point gained for the miners at the time, but it proved otherwise by experience. It provided for the price going down to \$2 per ton when the miners should receive 33 per cent less than the 1869 basis.

The miners in the Luzerne and Lehigh regions had not stopped when the Schuylkill men did. The consequence was that when all the mines got to work the price of coal went down, until in November and December the miners were paid $24\frac{3}{4}$ per cent below the 1869 basis, the average for the five months being 18 per cent below the 1869 basis.

Before the year was ushered in the miners and operators had gotten together and agreed to recommend the adoption, for the year 1871, of the following terms: When coal sold at \$2.50 per ton at Port Carbon, outside wages to be \$9; inside, \$10, and miners \$12 per week, contract work to be reduced $16\frac{1}{2}$ per cent from the 1869 basis; 1 cent advance or reduction in wages on each 3 cents advance or reduction of the price of coal.

The companies in the northern coal field having subsequently ordered a big reduction, the general council of the Workmen's Benevolent Association ordered a general suspension in the whole anthracite region to take effect January 10, 1871. At that time the mining of anthracite coal practically ceased. In a month the market having been considerably depleted of its surplus, the miners offered to resume and some of the operators acquiesced, but there loomed into view another obstacle. Mr. Gowen determined to take a hand, and by arbitrarily raising the toll or freight on coal to three times its ordinary amount, he practically prohibited those operators from working.

For four months the deadlock continued. On April 17, 1871, the miners' and operators' representatives met at Mauch Chunk and agreed to submit all questions in dispute to a board of arbitration, consisting of an equal number of miners and operators. In case the arbitrators could not agree, Judge William Elwell of Bloomsburg, Columbia county, was selected as

umpire to decide the questions at issue. The board failed to agree. On May 11 the operators submitted their terms and the miners submitted the 1869 basis to Judge Elwell. In the meantime the miners resumed work, pending the decision of the umpire. On the 17th of May Judge Elwell decided as follows: With coal at \$2.75 per ton at Port Carbon wages should be: Outside labor, \$10; inside labor, \$11; miners, \$13 per week; contract work to be reduced 10 per cent on the 1869 basis, wages to advance or decline 1 cent in every 3 cents advance or decline in the market price of coal.

Working under this system during the first month—May—there was 6 per cent advance; in June, 4 per cent reduction; July, 7 per cent reduction; August, 6 per cent reduction; September, 7 per cent reduction; October, November and December, basis. In September the men threatened to strike if the reductions below the basis were not stopped. Rather than have another strike the operators paid the basis for the balance of the year. For the entire working part of the year the average price paid was from 1 to 2 per cent below the \$2.50 basis, or 12 per cent below the 1869 basis. For the year 1872 the operators and miners reached an agreement in January, that when coal was \$2.50 per ton at Port Carbon wages should be: Outside labor, \$10; inside labor, \$11, and miners, \$13 per week, contract work to be reduced 8 1-3 per cent below the \$2.75 basis price of the year previous, the advance and decline to be 1 cent in three. Wages were not to be less than on the \$2.50 basis for more than two months in the year, and in those two months it was not to be less than at the \$2.25 rate. The result was: January, basis; February, basis; March, basis; April, 8 1/4 per cent reduction; May, the same; June, basis; July, August, September, October, November and December, basis—an average of 1 1/4 per cent below the \$2.50 basis for the year, or 20 per cent below the 1869 basis.

In January, 1873, the miners and operators, through their organizations, agreed upon these terms: With coal at \$2.50 at Port Carbon as a minimum, wages should be: Outside, \$10; inside, \$11; miners, \$13 per week; contract work, same as for 1872, all advances to be one in three. The result was: January, basis; February, 4 per cent on; March, 4 per cent on; May and June, basis; July, 2 per cent on; August, 3 per

cent on; September and October, 4 per cent on; November, 5 per cent on; December, 8 per cent on—an average of about 3 per cent above the \$2.50 basis, or 15 per cent below the 1869 basis.

The year 1874 was worked by the miners on the same terms as 1873, with these results: January, 7 per cent on; February, 9 per cent on; March, 6 per cent on; April, May and June, basis; July, 1 per cent on; August, 1 per cent on; September, 5 per cent on; October, 3 per cent on; November, 9 per cent on; December, 4 per cent on—an average for the entire year of $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent above the \$2.50 basis, or 15 per cent below the 1869 basis.

In 1875 reductions were demanded by the operators all over the anthracite region. In Schuylkill County the reduction demanded was from 10 to 20 per cent.

The Luzerne miners accepted the reduction and went to work. The Schuylkill and Lehigh men resolved to fight. They fought during January, February, March, April, May and June. In the middle of June hunger forced the men to yield. Their organization, now known as the Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association, was broken.

With the Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association lost to view, Mr. Patterson says:

What this defeat meant to the miners may be suggested somewhat by these facts and figures: In 1871 they lost 10 per cent, and in 1875 they lost an additional 20 per cent on contract work. In this latter year coal prices averaged $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent above the \$2.50 basis, which netted the miners $26\frac{1}{2}$ per cent below the 1869 basis. In 1876 the average was 10 per cent below the \$2.50, or 40 per cent below the 1869 basis.

In 1877 the average price of coal was 24 per cent below the \$2.50 basis, or 54 per cent below the 1869 basis. Some months it was 30 per cent below, which would mean that the miners received 40 cents for work for which he got \$1 in 1869. *

In 1878 the average per cent off, reduced wages 62 per cent of the basis price of 1869. In 1879 the average per cent off for the year was 61 per cent of the basis price of 1869.

*[A striking contrast between the organized and unorganized miners, well worthy of note, for future reference.—Chris Evans.]

CHAPTER V.

PREAMBLE AND CONSTITUTION OF THE MINERS
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA.

PREAMBLE.

Whereas, There are now a number of local and State unions among our miners throughout the country; and,

Whereas, It is indispensable and necessary for the government of said unions that a national association should be established; and,

Whereas, Such an organization has been established, the following constitution is submitted for its government:

"In union there is strength," and in knowledge of union there is power. In a union embracing in its formation all our different branches and lodges, and every miner in the entire country, founded upon a basis as broad as the land in which we live, lies our only hope. Single handed we can do nothing, but united there is no power of wrong we cannot openly defy. Our prayer is that miners and underground workers generally, who have not already made a movement in that direction, will be stimulated to action, and organize lodges and branches in the different places where they may reside, connecting themselves immediately with the Miners' National Association, and thereby enable us to go hand and hand together for their own mutual benefit and happiness.

CONSTITUTION.

Article I.—Name of Association.

This society shall be known as "The Miners' National Association of the United States of America."

Article II.—Objects.

1. The objects of the society shall be to promote the interests of the miners morally, socially and financially; for the protection of their health and their lives; to spread general intelligence among them; to remove, as far as possible, the cause for all strikes, and adopt wherever or whenever it is

practicable, the principle of arbitration; to urge upon all miners the necessity of becoming citizens of the United States of America, that we may secure, by the use of the ballot, the services of men friendly to labor both in our State and national councils; to create a fund for the support of the members of this association, as described in the constitution and by-laws of the association.

2. To obtain legislative enactments for the more efficient management of mines, whereby the lives and health of miners may be better preserved.

3. To shorten the hours of labor in the mines.

4. To protect all branches and members, when unjustly dealt with by their employers.

5. To secure the true weight of the production of the miners' material at the mine, thus giving to them and the operators their legitimate dues.

6. To sue for compensation, when it is proven to the satisfaction of the Association that the negligence of the employers has been the cause of a member's death.

7. To provide a weekly allowance for members, when out of employment, in resisting any unjust demands.

8. To assist all similar associations which have the same object in view, to-wit: Mutual protection of members, and the protection of labor against capital.

Article III.—Of Membership.

This association shall consist of all men who are employed in and around the mines of the United States, who will subscribe to the constitution and by-laws; be governed by them in all their parts, conforming to the principle on which they are based and submit to the general laws of the association; paying as an entrance fee 10 cents and 30 cents dues per quarter every month thereafter.

Article IV.—Executive Board.

The executive power of this association shall be composed of a general president and one vice-president to be drawn one from each State represented in the association, a general secretary and a treasurer, and shall be known as the executive board of the Miners' National Association of the United States of America.

Article V.—Of the Executive Officers.

The executive officers of this association shall be elected annually in the following manner: The annual convention representing the entire membership of the association shall place in nomination men selected from themselves, and upon

any one delegate receiving a majority of the whole votes cast for any office be declared duly elected. The vote for executive officers shall, in all cases, be by ballot.

Article VI.—Duties of the Executive.

1. It shall be the duty of the president of the Executive Board to preside at all meetings of the board at which he may be present, to preserve order and cause the constitution and by-laws to be strictly observed by all the different officers and subordinate branches of this association. His decision shall be final on all cases not provided for in the constitution and by-laws. He shall have a casting vote on all questions arising in the board. He shall not be entitled to participate in any discussion while in the chair, excepting in committee of the whole, or upon questions of order. He shall sign all orders drawn upon the treasurer of the board, and all documents that may require his signature. He shall fill all official vacancies of the executive board, not otherwise provided for, until the next annual meeting; shall appoint all committees not specified in the constitution and by-laws, and shall have power to grant charters to subordinate lodges and branches. He shall, with the advice of the executive board, or majority thereof, have power, in time of recess of the board, to suspend either the general secretary or the treasurer for refusing, neglecting or incapacity to perform their duties. He shall exercise a general supervisory care of the State executive boards, State officers, State lodges and the general interests of the association. He shall sign all the minutes of meetings over which he presides, and shall receive for his services the sum of \$1,200 per annum, to be paid monthly.

2. The vice-president shall preside in the absence of the president, and in case of his death, resignation or inability to perform his duties, they shall devolve on the vice-president, who shall continue in this performance until his successor shall have been appointed and installed in office, or the president be able to resume his official duties. In the absence of both of these officers the board shall appoint a president pro tem.

3. The secretary shall keep a just and true record of all proceedings of the Executive Board at each of their sessions, and transmit to each State board, district lodge or branch copies of the same. He shall have charge of all books, papers or other property of the board, except the books and papers of the treasurer, and shall deliver to his successor or any person authorized to receive the same all books, papers, or other property belonging to his office, when required by the board. He shall notify, officially, all State executive boards, and other

branches and lodges, of special sessions, carry on all necessary correspondence, collect all moneys from the branch lodges and pay them over to the treasurer and take his receipt for the same. He shall attest all bills, drafts and other papers of the board. In case it be necessary to suspend lodges or branches for any cause, it shall be his duty to notify them to that effect, stating the reason for such suspension. For the faithful performance of his duties he shall give bonds, with approved security, in the sum of \$5,000, which may be increased from time to time as the board may direct. He shall receive for his services the sum of \$1,200, payable monthly.

4. The treasurer shall receive from the secretary all moneys collected by him, giving his receipt for the same. He shall pay all orders drawn and attested by the secretary. He shall render in writing, at the annual session of the board, a true and perfect account of his doings, with a statement of all moneys received and disbursed by him. He shall deliver to his successor or any person authorized to receive them, by the board, all books, papers and moneys belonging to his office. For the faithful performance of his duties he shall give bonds, with approved security, in the sum of \$5,000, but the sum may be increased from time to time, at the option of the board, and shall receive for his services such sum as the convention may determine.

Article VII.—Duties of Executive Board.

The duties of the executive board shall be:

1. To keep a regular correspondence with the various lodges or branches of the association and the officers of the different lodges on the condition of the trade; receive information on the state of the market; the production of the mines in each particular region and the number of men employed, if a surplus or a scarcity of labor is apparent, transmit the same to the general secretary of the executive board, who shall preserve them in a book kept for that purpose, and draw off a monthly abstract of the same, and forward a copy to each branch or lodge to be read at their monthly meeting.

2. They shall also recommend, when they find it to the interest of any section, a partial contraction of the hours of labor, to prevent a glutting of their market, or a change in the location of a part of their men, and thus prevent a reduction in price.

3. In all cases of dispute referred to the president of the board, if he finds it necessary he shall call the members together, and they shall, upon his call, meet, take up the question at issue, and treat upon it in all its known bearings, arrive at a decision and report their decision to the secretaries or body

interested; their action to be sustained by the entire association.

4. Before sanctioning a strike it shall adopt all lawful ways and means, including an offer to arbitrate, to effect an amicable settlement between the employer and employees.

5. In case the funds of the national treasury should be exhausted, it shall be the privilege of a majority of the executive board to make such extra levy on the local organizations as, in their judgment, the exigencies of the case may require.

Article VIII.—Strikes.

1. All members of the association in good standing shall, in case of a legalized strike, receive the sum of \$5 per week, but in no instance shall such member receive such assistance until the strike has been continued two weeks.

2. Any district or subordinate branch or lodge which considers itself aggrieved by unjust measures being imposed upon its members by their employers, and if after all means of redress have proved fruitless, they deem it expedient to resort to a strike, shall be required to send their grievances to the president of the executive board, and should he deem it necessary he shall repair to the place where the difficulty had its origin and investigate the matter in person. After due and proper inquiry, should he deem this cause sufficient he shall declare the strike legal; then every member concerned therein shall be entitled to all the benefits enumerated in Section 1 of this article. Should he, however, find the cause insufficient to authorize a strike, he shall declare it illegal and the members be required to desist from striking.

3. The initiation fees, together with the first quarter's dues from all branches, will be forwarded to the secretary of the executive board, thence to the treasurer, to form a fund for current and contingent expenses. The subsequent dues to remain in the hands of the local or branch lodge treasury, and form a special fund to be kept subject to the order of the president of the executive board, when required to be paid out to members upon strike.

4. There will be a per capita tax upon all members of this association, levied by the officers of all local branches, and remitted monthly to the secretary of the executive board, sufficient to meet the current and general expenses of the association.

5. The secretary of every branch lodge will be required to furnish the general secretary of the association a monthly statement of the members' names on the books, the amounts of moneys received during the month, the expenses of the lodge and the amount of funds on hand.

6. The card system now in force in the Iron Molders' International Union shall be adopted by this organization.

Article IX.—Representatives.

This association shall consist of delegates from the various local lodges and branches in good standing in the United States, the representation to be as follows: One delegate to each 500 members or fractional part thereof. The sessions of this convention shall be held annually, on the fourth Tuesday of October of each year, at such places as the executive board may determine. Special sessions may be called when deemed necessary by the executive board.

2. All amendments or alterations to this constitution shall be presented in writing and forwarded to the general secretary, at least three months before the meeting of the annual convention, which, together with all other business to be presented before the convention, shall be forwarded by him to the various lodges for their acceptance or rejection.

3. Any district lodge or branch failing to comply with the provisions of the foregoing constitution shall forfeit all claims to the benefits therein provided for.

4. This organization shall not disband so long as there are five dissenting lodges or branches.

Adopted October 17, 1873.

Cleveland, Ohio, was made headquarters for the national association.

ORGANIZING LOCAL UNIONS.

With the organization of a national union effected, the spirit of unity spread rapidly throughout the eastern and middle coal-producing States, and the work of organization began with a degree of regularity in the formation of local unions that caused agreeable surprise among the most sanguine friends of the mining craft.

On November 22, 1873, a lodge of the Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association was organized in the Blossburg district of Pennsylvania, and the coal companies exerted every influence to kill it in its infancy, insisting upon the signing of an ironclad agreement, pledging the miners not to join the union, and those that had already joined to leave their employ. With these restrictions placed upon them the miners, with all the dignity their rank would permit, refused to enter into a compact so utterly selfish, placing, as it were, a noose around the neck of each miner that signed it, for the operator to pull,

at will, the rope attached, thereby tightening the knot so well devised to throttle every aspiration the miners may have to protect their individual and collective rights. The miners' objection to this menace of freedom caused a cessation of work for three months.

After several weeks' idleness a number of Swedes, as strikebreakers, were brought into the field, placed in barracks at Arnot by the operators and given all the protection possible under the circumstances mentioned.

The old miners, not to be outdone, made persistent efforts to talk with the new men in order to explain the situation to them, but were refused this privilege. A Swedish interpreter, however, soon solved the problem, and in a very short time had all the strikebreakers and strikers marching together on the road for Blossburg, about four miles distant, with a Scotch bagpipe artist leading them, and, to the inspiring tune of "McGregor's Gathering," landed them at Blossburg, where a mass meeting was held for jollification over their success. After the meeting closed the imported men were given food and shelter until the next day, when they left the field, with the result that satisfactory conclusions were entered into between the operators and miners that gave the miners all for which they had been contending. It was a manly effort and deserved well the victory achieved.

In 1874 the local lodge of the Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association joined the Miners' National Association of the United States of America, and continued its membership until the national union collapsed, after which it remained steadfast as a local union, doing much to prevent further encroachments in the Blossburg coal field.

On December 13, 1873, a local lodge of the Miners and Laborers' Benevolent Association was organized at Keel Ridge, a short distance from the little town of Hermitage, Mercer county, Pennsylvania, in the Shenango valley. Chris. Evans was elected president. At the first meeting after the lodge was organized the little hall that had been built by the miners was well filled with very enthusiastic men, all anxious to share in the work of the new union, in which they all desired to become a part. After a long wait in the midst of

clamoring tongues some one, a little more anxious than the president, wanted to know if it was not time to call the meeting to order. A little more time and another gave vent to the same expression. The president, not being quite ready yet, a third enthusiast in high tone shouted, "Call the meeting to order!"

By this time the president, in the throes of a much-troubled mind, though forced by pressure that could no longer be subdued, mustered sufficient courage to call the assembled crowd to order, but his opening address—Oh, my! what a mixture of unknown words, never collected together, to the president's knowledge, and yet the little band went marching on, never daunted, and succeeded well.

A few months later several lodges had been organized throughout Shenango valley, which necessitated the holding of joint meetings, the result of which was the organizing of what was then known as the county board. At the county board meetings representatives of all local lodges assembled together, when thought necessary, to legislate for the best interests of all miners within the county lines.

In the early part of the year 1874 Chris. Evans was elected president of the Mercer county board and Thomas Laird secretary. In September of the same year the local union of the Miners and Laborers' Benevolent Association at Keel Ridge, having joined the Miners' National Association of the United States of America, sent its seal to the general secretary, John James, to be remodeled and made to conform with a local seal of the national union. Early in October John Chisholm, Chris. Evans, Thomas Laird and Henry Hall were elected to represent the Mercer county miners at the national convention, to be held at Cleveland, Ohio, October 27, 1874.

CHAPTER VI.

SECOND ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE MINERS'
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION AT CLEVELAND, OHIO,
OCTOBER 27, 1874.

PROCEEDINGS.

The second annual meeting of the Miners' National Association was begun in the hall of the Industrial Council, in Drumm's Block, on Seneca street, Tuesday morning, at half-past 9 o'clock.

A large number of delegates were present representing hundreds of associations and lodges in all parts of the country, from Pennsylvania to Wyoming Territory.

John Siney, the president of the association, occupied the chair. The secretary, John James, with assistants, John Pollock, John Chisholm, Henry Hall, made records of the proceedings.

The following committees were appointed by the chair:

Committee on Credentials—Tom Randall, Pennsylvania; W. H. Rose, Louis Johnson, Wyoming Territory; John Betz, Maryland; John Murtha, Illinois.

Committee on Organization—Louis Johnson, Wyoming Territory; J. Vavarek, Illinois; Robert Todd, Ohio; James Chandler, Pennsylvania; S. M. Moore, Missouri.

Committee on Constitution—John Pollock, Ohio; D. H. Harris, Pennsylvania; John Denning, Illinois; J. Briggs, Indiana; Robert Linn, Indiana.

Committee on Finance—James O'Halloran, Pennsylvania; D. A. Jones, Ohio; J. B. Chisholm, Pennsylvania; M. Dando, Illinois.

Committee on Ways and Means—John Graham, Ohio; E. B. Wagner, Pennsylvania; R. J. Jones, West Virginia; T. Laird, Pennsylvania.

It was resolved to refer all motions in writing to their appropriate committees without debate. The convention then adjourned.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON.

The afternoon session began promptly at half past 1 o'clock.

After the transaction of a quantity of routine business, the following address of President Siney was read by the secretary:

PRESIDENT SINEY'S ADDRESS.

"Gentlemen of the Convention:—One year has elapsed since the formation of the Miners' National Association, whose chief officer I have the honor to be. One year has passed by since the miners of America through their chosen representatives met in Youngstown, of this State, and laid down the basis of our organization. Though at that time we had what some considered strong trades unions, yet as a means to the end for which they were formed the ablest and most experienced considered them a failure. Doubtless those have accomplished much good in their own localities on minor questions. I know they have. But in almost every case, where there was determined opposition on the part of the giant corporations who now own and operate the American mines they have had to give way as gossamer webs before the summer sun. If a mine was owned by a single individual, a district union might cope with him; but when a hundred men or more place millions of dollars in the hands of a board of three or four directors, their power is only limited by their will. No district or State association can cope and be successful against such a body single handed.

"To raise an organization that would not only be able to meet those in an encounter, but because of the justice of its aims and objects and the honesty with which those would be pursued, command the respect of the employers themselves, thus reducing the causes of strikes to a minimum, was the ideal with most of the advocates for a national union. Constant clashing of interests, struggles against some innovation or for the establishment of some principle had to be fought and fought from one place to another till it had passed over every district and every State in the Union.

"This terrible waste of wealth to the miner and to the country has been deplored by the observing miners, and all sighed for something to give relief. By those ever recurring and ruinous struggles the mining population felt themselves sinking in the social scale and their condition daily growing worse. The advanced men of our trade had grown heartily tired of the every day battles that kept them constantly in poverty and discontent. They were conscious every new fight was sinking them deeper in the mud, and any rights they had left in regard to their labor were fast vanishing away. On the one hand they were bound by ineffectual usages on the part of their own trade, and on the other crushed by the irre-

sistible power of capital. Ready for emancipation from both, they responded to the call and framed our present constitution. It is not a perfect instrument. It hardly could be, as it was the work of a few hours. Hastily got up, and with all its imperfections, it was put into my hands and those of the members as a guide in the work of organization and the operation of the institution.

"Though the objects of the association are set forth very clearly and lucidly in the second article of the constitution, and must commend themselves to the candid and impartial mind, yet the instrument is sadly defective in describing the method that should be adopted to accomplish the ends. This I expect you will consider and so amend as to enable your executive officers to go on with the work, feeling sure they are working in accordance with your desires and the wishes of the majority of the members whom you represent.

"The objects of the association I might as well quote here, not particularly for your benefit, but for the sake of others who may see them, those who might not have an opportunity of seeing them otherwise, and who may be harboring feelings of enmity against the union, believing we have other purposes to accomplish. They are as follows:

"The objects of the society shall be to promote the interests of the miners, morally, socially and financially; for the protection of their lives; to spread intelligence among them; to remove, as far as possible, the cause for all strikes, and adopt, wherever and whenever it is practicable, the principle of arbitration; to urge upon all miners the necessity of becoming citizens of the United States of America, that we may secure, by the use of the ballot, the services of men friendly to labor, both in our state and national councils; to create a fund for the support of the members of this association, as described in the constitution and by-laws of the association.

"To obtain legislative enactments for the more efficient management of mines, whereby the lives and health of miners may be better preserved.

"To shorten the hours of labor in the mines.

"To protect all branches and members when unjustly dealt with by their employers.

"To secure the true weight of the production of the miner's material at the mine, thus giving to them and the operators their legitimate dues.

"To sue for compensation when it is proven to the satisfaction of the association that the negligence of the employers has been the cause of a member's death.

"To provide a weekly allowance for members when out of employment, in resisting any unjust demands.

"To assist all similar associations which have the same object in view, to wit: Mutual protection of members, and protection of labor against capital.

"I quote the objects of the institution because the organization has been used as a pretext by different employers at various times for discharging their men and employing others because the old hands desired to be part and parcel thereof. The objects have been misconstrued and misrepresented by some of the public journals, and the officers have been maligned and abused for having honestly endeavored to carry those into practice. We have been called 'agitators,' we have been called 'demagogues,' because we have counseled the members of this organization to try and secure those objects. In some places even the clergy have placed their anathema upon the society, and why? Is it wrong to teach men to seek a higher moral standard? If so, let them vacate the pulpits. Is it wrong to cultivate the intellect and inculcate broader and more comprehensive views than we now have? If so, let the newspapers close their offices or refrain from using the epithets of 'ignorant' at us. Is it wrong to advance our financial interests? If so, let those who operate our mines and our mills and all others abandon the various enterprises in which they are engaged in the pursuit of wealth. It appears to me that that which if advised by the church, by the press or by the wealthy would be applauded to the heavens, when counselled and advised by working men, consigns them to perdition or ranks them in the catalogue of agitators, demagogues and mischief makers.

"If there is one wrong more than another that we have reason to complain of it is surely misrepresentation. If we are ignorant and strive to improve and culture ourselves are we not deserving of as much credit as the educated when they keep adding to their attainments? If we are immoral and we essay to better ourselves, is the act, because it springs from ourselves and not through other sources, to be condemned? If we are vicious and seek to restrain those evil propensities, is the effort to be denounced because a missionary is not the instrument? From the opposition we have met at many points we do begin to think this is so. But I say, let us not be discouraged. The greater prize is that for which we have to fight the hardest.

"If we could see it from another standpoint, possibly the criticisms that are passed upon us are natural. The first efforts of a drunkard to reform are looked upon suspiciously and sometimes ridiculed; so also the religious reforms of the unregenerated are set down as evidence of hypocrisy. So in accordance with this principle we must, it seems, look for

opposition to do right until we have established confidence in all that we are really in earnest. Let us go on in the good work and deal justly to all men and to ourselves, and convince the world that we are better than the estimate they have made of us.

"And now, having paid the little tribute that I owe to those of our friends who deserved in this connection a passing notice, let me turn to the opposition we meet among ourselves. It may seem strange to you men that we should not only be harassed by the opposition of outside parties, but that we should meet it in a large degree among ourselves. When the last convention adjourned none among us, and few in the country, dreamed of the terrible blight that had set in upon our industries generally, and none upon which it fell heavier than our own coal and iron department. The panic, a national misfortune, had just rolled in before the chariot of the world's progress. Its storms were howling in the east and in this State ere the association had its birth. The iron markets were falling at a rate never before experienced. Factories of every kind were closing down and coal became a drug in the market and we began to think the very foundation had fallen out of our business fabric. The god of destruction seemed to be abroad and determined to raze the entire business structure and leave it a shapeless mass of ruin.

"The causes of this terrible disaster I do not propose to discuss. Suffice it to say that whatever they were you men, nor those you represent, nor any other body of workmen in the country, had any hand in them. Though no participator in the evils which produced this state of affairs, our system of economy is so constructed that on the heads of the producing classes fall the bitter consequences. This commercial shock so prostrated the coal and iron trade that little of our labor was in demand at any price. Our men were to be seen lying around our mining towns and villages having no work to do, yet willing to work. Is there anything so dreadful to the thinking man who desires to see his country prosper as to behold the wealthy producers—the bees in the hive—idle, have nothing to do, yet needing and willing to work? Can you think of anything which so impoverishes a nation as having its workmen idle and its manufactories closed? This question our statesmen would do well to consider. To find things thus, and see the miners going hither and thither, was the signal for reductions in their wages and other impositions which our men are ever ready to resent. Hundreds of men went on strikes and thousands were ready to plunge into one at any moment.

"This state of affairs found us ere we were four months

old. Suspensions in the name of strikes we felt were ineffectual as a remedy under the existing circumstances. No, so far from being such we were sure that, as measures to better the condition of affairs or even repress the downward tendencies, they were useless and could only add fuel to the fire and burn alone our members. In view of this fact I felt myself induced to issue this circular on the 31st of March:

“ ‘Office of the Miners’ National Association,

“ ‘Cleveland, Ohio, March 31, 1874.

“ ‘Officers and Members of the Miners’ National Association:

“ ‘Dear Sirs—A widespread misunderstanding seems to be abroad among the miners in regard to the aims and objects of the association, and for the time being is leading many into serious and disastrous troubles. In many sections of the country at present trade is dull beyond all precedent, and in some places our men have the idea that it is made so designedly by the employers for the express purpose of crippling and preventing the workmen from forming their unions and annexing themselves to the national. This is not the reason of the dull trade. However hostile they are to the formation of the union—and we know, with you, that their hostility and opposition to it, in many cases, scarcely has a limit—still they have no more control over the circumstances which compel the dull times than you have. We are not ignorant of the fact that they are using, as far as they can, the dull season in the coal trade to frustrate your efforts to build up your association. They victimize and persecute your leaders by ostracising them not only in the section where they themselves live, but wherever a letter to another boss will have any control over the individual. They put up contracts which they know are abhorrent to every lover of liberty, compelling you to disavow all unions or union principles or consider yourself discharged. These contracts forbid your right to meet with your fellows in common council and discuss together the best means of social elevation without their leave. Your rights as citizens to draw your earnings in currency and spend it where and how you please they have denied, and do deny. In all things they desire to usurp the functions of government, making laws for you in the first place, and then as self-selected umpires and arbiters they claim to decide for you in all things pertaining to your being. This we know, but the means to remedy these evils and prevent such arrogant assumption of authority to rule over you imperiously is the object of this circular.

“ ‘None among you have more sanguine hopes of the ultimate triumphs of our principles and the establishment of our

association than we have; none among you believe more truly in the justice of your claims and the bitterness with which you endure the yoke from day to day; but though we have a keen realization of those, we do not think that simultaneous with your organization there should also be a strike to throw off the yoke that galls. Take nine coal mining districts today out of every ten and they are writhing under rancorous grievances of a similar kind, and would in a moment enter on a campaign of suffering and misery to free themselves, could they see the least hope of success. But affairs being in such a condition they can not think a strike would be policy or an evidence of prudence at present. They therefore bear on, and in many cases will not be forced into a strike, the very thing some of the bosses desire they would do. This, we think, is prudence and good judgment. If you be compelled to decide which of the two evils to take, sign the obnoxious contract or go into a strike, we unhesitatingly say sign the contract, but do so on the same grounds Gallileo took before the inquisition, exclaiming, "But it does move after all." If you can not be permitted to organize openly, do it in secret, and let them know it not. Sign all the papers they have a mind to offer. They are binding only for the time you work under them. You are at liberty to quit at any time, and on being employed again begins a new contract. When your time comes null the contracts by taking your discharge and then begin under a new contract. The sanctity of contracts we only respect in so far as there is justice in them and when the interests of both parties to them are fairly considered; but when circumstances enable one party to compel the other to forego their citizen rights, when circumstances are reversed, the party thus compelling can not blame the other if they legally null the contract and compel a new and more equitable one. The honesty and veneration our men exhibit in dealing with those is too sincere, considering the unscrupulousness of the parties with whom they have to deal. What do they do when the conditions of the contract pinches them? They simply shut down the mines and tell you it does not pay them to run them. "But," they usually add, after you have been idle for a month or two without knowing why you have been idle and have waited in the hopeful expectation that things would start up again, "if you men will submit to a reduction of so much per cent we can afford to run." This your needs force you to accede to, and thus they get out of their contract. When you think you have been long enough on those latter terms, and make a movement to regain the lost ground, up again goes the contract, and again it is subscribed, and the workmen live to its conditions with the strictest regard till it suits the bosses

again to annul it by a violation of its provisions. These are the causes why you look upon it as a Jew does upon pork—as a thing to be hated and fought and killed—and no wonder you only live to its provisions, the party of the first part does not.

“Where this one-sided instrument is not used to drive you into a strike, other causes, as much objectionable, are forced upon you, so that you are driven to kick against them or smother all the manly principles the human mind inherits; a trial, we know, to the good and great, but under the circumstances, we have to advise, bear it all for the time being. Our organization is going on at a rapid rate. Do nothing rash to retard its progress until it is complete. Then fear not, your time will have come, and you may then throw off the yoke and assert your rights as noble men and as citizens of a free land.

“To sum all up in a word, we say suffer every indignity that can be heaped upon you, sign every kind of paper the bosses present you, and do not think to combat them now. Organize secretly if you are not permitted to do so publicly, but do organize. The bosses do not fight you openly; they can not blame you if you adopt their tactics. Those who have accomplished great good had to bear great opposition. Remember those of old who, struggling for freedom, had to move cautiously and judiciously, do ye also the same. We advise you thus, for to strike now is, as it were, fighting the wind. Reserve your prowess and your power until the opportune time, and then let us burst the bands asunder. For the present let there be no strikes.

“To the observing man our reasons for thus addressing you will be obvious without giving them in detail. Suffice it to say they are weighty and for the general good of all interested and the association. We have several strikes on hand that may necessitate a levy; lodges will please hold themselves in readiness to respond promptly.’

“So far from its being well received in some places for so advising, the officers got heartily denounced. Indeed, certain district officers collected all that were sent to their section and had them burned before the members saw them. In those places the members now do not know that such a circular was issued. To do these men justice, however, they acted from what they believed a good motive. They feared if the rank and file knew that we, as the heads of the institution, so counselled that they would withdraw from the organization. In consideration of the state of feeling in various places I believe an expression of this body is required for the guidance of your future officers, no matter what advice or instructions emanate from your central office sanctioned by your executive

officers, whether in accordance with the wish of the members at the point to which they are issued or not, all the members should know them and to refuse to act upon them is simply evidence that no organization exists there. If the general officers give orders that are fatal to the well being of the society, amend your constitution so as to be able to remove them. But if they are simply to be figureheads whose advice or whose general order is to be cast aside or followed at will, then are they nothing and you have an organization simply in name. I ask you, gentlemen of the convention, to so arrange this for the future that the whole society will understand it. That the advice given in the circular was correct I have simply to refer you to every strike that has taken place, with the exception of Braidwood, since the date of its issuance. Hocking valley tells in trumpet tones we were right; Clay county echoes to the tale; Johnstown chimes in its accent also, and today the men of the Allegheny region join in with the sentiment that our position was the correct one. In fact, every place where a struggle has been since then tells about the same story in evidence that they made a mistake. On the whole, however, the counsel had a decided effect and many places that would undoubtedly have tried their fortune in contesting the ability of the mine owners to reduce them were restrained from so doing, and now in the west the prices are again going up to the old standard or very near to it. A couple of months or so passed by when a desire again arose at places to get into the field and, fearing the consequences, no improvement having yet taken place in the trade of the country, I sent out the following:

“ ‘Office of the Miners’ National Association,

“ ‘Cleveland, Ohio, May 12, 1874.

“ ‘To Officers and Members:

“ ‘Dear Sirs—We feel it to be our duty to again address you by circular on a matter of the greatest importance to you, and hence to the association. The organization has grown beyond the anticipation of the most sanguine among us—having enrolled on our books nearly twenty-five thousand names—and the rolls continue to come in every day. This is a flattering result, and one in which we take pride, because we believe it has no parallel in the history of trade unions on this continent. Our hope is that we will continue to grow till all who toil in the mines of the country will be good and efficient members of the Miners’ National Association.

“ ‘The times are exceedingly dull throughout the country and in many places a reduction of wages has been forced upon the men; in fact, the reduction throughout the west has been

almost general, and under the circumstances unavoidable. In three places in Illinois a strike is in progress, trying to uphold the wages—Danville, Bowlesville and Lincoln. In Minonk the men have been on a strike to maintain the union which they have established for the last three months. In Indiana the men have been compelled to succumb to the conditions of the companies. Two lodges have been completely ostracised, their labor being supplanted by colored men from Virginia, brought for the special purpose. New Straitsville, Nelsonville, Haydenville, Floodwood and the entire Hocking valley, Ohio, are still in the field, and these, too, are fighting a reduction in their wages. The men of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, and those of Meadow Brook, Luzerne county, are contestants in a struggle to enjoy the right to have their union and its benefits. What the result of this combat will be at any point, or on the whole, it is impossible to foretell. Much depends upon the support that can be given them and the unity of action which they themselves display.

“There are of our union men engaged in these separate conflicts an aggregate of over 1,200. To give them constitutional benefits a weekly revenue of \$6,000 is required to be raised. From the men who are actually able to pay their assessments we would require to draw 50 cents each per week. For be it remembered that in many places our members have not worked any for three months, in some places they have been idle for full six, and from these men we can not ask money, though all express a willingness to give if they had it. They are idle for want of work. The want of money pinches them as bad from this cause as if they were on a strike, and, could we afford it, need support instead of contributing any. Whether the men who are working feel able and willing to pay this amount remains to be seen. We feel confident all will do their best to live up to their obligations.

“Some places are now sending in a list of their grievances to the office and asking if we will not take them into consideration and express an opinion as to their sufficiency to warrant and justify them in striking. In too many cases our opinions give offense and go unheeded because they do not in all things coincide with those particularly favored by the men who are making them. We could take any one place on this broad continent today, where coal mining is done, and upon a fair and impartial investigation of the circumstances concerning the treatment of the workmen by the employers find a dozen causes which, in our judgment, would justify the men in resistance. But these are not simply all that is required to get a decision from the executive in favor of a resort to this last means to establish your rights. There is an important ques-

tion ever uppermost in our minds at present, and that is the permanency of the association itself, and the ability of the members composing it to pay the assessments necessary to carry a strike to a successful issue. If we put the burden of a man upon a child it will crush it to the earth; if we expose a twig to the storm that requires a full grown oak to resist, destruction is its fate. So with our association. We can not afford to have more than a certain number of members on a strike at a given time, else the men who are the bulwark of protection, the support behind, will be crushed by the pressure and uprooted by the storm.

“Men must, therefore, think not that the executive is partial, or that their case is less worthy of attention than another, or that we ought to encourage them to a certain course which we know is ruinous to themselves, because they have a prejudice in favor of going that way, but let them look at it from a better point of view, because the truer one, and ascribe our opposition to the striking policy at present to the real cause. First, we can see little hope of ultimate success coming from it; and to strike against the evils at any point which are common is a justification to all others who will do the same. Second, if too many strike at once all have the greater chance to be defeated. In view of these facts, which we can not explain to every lodge by letter, we appeal to one and all to exercise an extraordinary share of the spirit of forbearance, and under no circumstances hardly be driven into a strike during these unprecedented dull times, for the consequences are sure to be disastrous to all concerned. The sacrifice of submission is great, we know, but the sacrifice of resistance, under present circumstances, is greater. “Of two evils choose ye the least.”

“This had a more decided effect than the other, and our members began to see in the existing state of affairs that it was a matter of impossibility to keep their position. It was pre-eminently a time for us to rather retreat and act upon the defensive instead of in any way provoke aggression from the other side. As when one nation has cause of quarrel with another its statesmen carefully examine the condition of its armies and means of defense, its resources from which to draw the munitions of war, and the position of its adversary.

“If they find they are all sufficient they may stand upon their dignity, and from a simple notice of what they deem the wrong done them they may go to a demand, from that to the force of arms to compel. But if in the face of a shattered and disorganized army, undisciplined and refractory, and ready to burst forth on their own account unthinking and regardless of the consequences, unaccustomed to restraint of any kind

and with no means of sustenance behind on which to rely, they should decide to enter into a combat with a power fully equipped, compact, and fortified with all the advantages that wealth can furnish them, folly, consummate folly, would be a fitting epitaph over the graves of those who would so advise. This is a fitting simply to illustrate the condition of our own men at the time the national association was given existence, and when the executive was pushed to sanction a striking policy—your trade destroyed, thus your means of subsistence gone, what work you did get in some cases paid for in worthless paper or such as you had to dispose of at 20 per cent discount. The price of your labor reduced in cases 30 per cent, and because you did not receive all and wince not you were abused in the public press and otherwise as being lawless, barbarous and ignorant, and we as demagogues and agitators. Under those circumstances could we have served you well to advise you to suspend work as a remedy when there was no possible means of giving you the promised support guaranteed in the constitution?

“Having a keen realization of the facts before us, we determined to legalize no strike, but counsel their avoidance under any circumstances till a more propitious season. Such help as we would give to places we would give it as donations and not as regular benefits. In this way our opinion was we could best serve the interests of all the members and the association. No other plan seemed open to us. It was a matter of necessity on the part of your executive if the association was to be saved, and we had made our minds up to preserve it at all hazards. How well we have done in this direction is for the convention to decide. The following circular of proposed and suggested amendments, which I sent out on the 28th of August to the various lodges, explains my position on the points treated, and the results from the different lodges heard from on the separate propositions:

“ ‘Office of the Miners’ National Association,

“ ‘Cleveland, Ohio, August 28, 1874.

“ ‘To Officers and Members:

“ ‘Dear Sirs—The annual convention of the association will take place as specified in the constitution, commencing its sittings on the fourth Tuesday of October, being the 27th day of the month, in Cleveland, Ohio. The following are the only amendments to the constitution that have been sent in to lay before you for your consideration:

“ ‘St. Clair, Schuylkill County, Pa., June 16, 1874.

“ ‘At the regular meeting of Lodge No. 2, District No. 1, of the above county and the Miners’ National Association of the

United States, the following resolutions and amendments to the constitution were passed and ordered to be sent to the general secretary, to be by him presented at the convention.

Amendment No. 1.

“Whereas, We believe it to be detrimental to the true interests of the Miners' National Association to pay benefits so soon after the organization of said association and especially so when members have to be levied on so soon after their admission to membership; therefore

“Resolved, That we offer the following amendment to Article 8 of the constitution, and recommend its adoption to all the lodges of the association. After then every member concerned therein shall be entitled to all the benefits enumerated in Section 1 of this article, shall be inserted, provided he has been a member of the association one year, and has paid all dues, levies and demands made by the association.’

“JOHN HOPKINS, President.

“THOS. RODWAY, Secretary.’

“After almost one year's experience we find we have many suggestions of amendments to make, and urge their adoption upon the members. We believe they will be a great improvement, and tend to better enable the officers to more harmoniously work the machine. As it is, it is uncomfortable and unsatisfactory. The power vested in the chief executive officer in reference to strikes he finds in too many cases an empty honor. It is impossible to render satisfaction to the members immediately interested in case of dispute, and yet do justice to the general body. Men often place themselves in this position: They want to strike for some cause. They want the sympathy and support of the association if it be possible to get it. The president, who is the best judge of its condition, feels it can not sustain such a policy, though his feelings and sympathies are with the members because of their grievances, still his judgment compels him to oppose their wishes because of the condition of things generally and the times. He advises them to change their tactics and desist from entering on a strike, and for this they blame him and strike anyhow. To rid himself of this responsibility he offers the following substitute for Section 2, Article VIII of the constitution:

Amendment No. 2.

“Any district, subordinate branch or lodge considering itself aggrieved by the imposition of unjust measures upon its members by reducing its wages, or in case they think the markets warrant a demand for better prices, having discussed the matter carefully in their lodge rooms, and after resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting on the question,

a two-thirds majority being necessary to make it a vote, a full and proper statement of the case setting forth the facts will be drawn up by the secretary and endorsed by the president, which they will forward to the general office, together with a copy of the resolutions of the body on the grievance. On its receipt the president will order the general secretary to have it printed, with a statement of the number of members involved and the amount of levy that will be required to support them in case of strike and forward the same to the secretary of each lodge in the association, with instructions to call a special meeting and vote on the case, returning the decision at the earliest possible moment thereafter to the central office. The general secretary will then communicate the result to the aggrieved lodge or district. If a majority of the lodges or branches vote in favor of a strike, then will the president declare the strike legal, and the members concerned therein receive the benefits as specified in Section 1 of this article.'

"If in the negative the members will not be entitled to any of the funds of the association should they persist in going into a strike. Until the decision of the association has been received the members of the place wherein the trouble exists will continue to work as usual, or forfeit all claims to benefits, unless a special permit from the president be given to suspend.

"In case the president, at any time, finds that a strict compliance with the above sections will be hazarding the general good of the association, he is hereby authorized, on a full statement of the case, to grant a special permit to suspend operations until the result of the vote of the lodges has been learned and returned.

"In many places where the association is introduced by the organization of a lodge or branch a strong opposition is brought to bear by the operators; the causes—for they are various—we will not here discuss, further than state the most frequent, viz.: the discharge of the 'leaders,' and the 'proscriptions of the union.' On this our men too frequently take issue, unfurling the 'banner of freedom,' and declaring their rights to 'liberty of opinion,' etc. They can not go to work and openly acknowledge the union, hence they claim a 'lockout.' The right is denied them by the employers and the miners are too honest to ask work at a sacrifice of truth. Thus the exercise of the right to meet and discuss the best means of social advancement, and because they will not renounce their belief in and the practice of the maxim, 'In union there is strength,' which no miner can do and tell the truth, is made a pretext for quarrel and actual persecution. In such cases fresh men are often introduced into the mines and at large expense are taught to mine coal, and actually supplant the honest union man. This

we know is done in dull seasons of the year, when employers can afford to do so at a lesser cost than if undertaken during the brisk season. To be always fighting at some point for this cause is extremely expensive to the association and is also unwise, if not absurd. At such times and in such cases a more peaceful and, we believe, a more successful policy can be adopted. To meet the want, we offer the following:

Amendment No. 3.

“‘Article VIII, Section 3. When upon the establishment of the organization, or at any other time, exception is taken to the officers of the lodge or branch so affected, to communicate with the general president on the subject, laying a full statement of the case before him, and asking his advice. Should it appear to him imprudent to make a contest on the question he shall write to them by return mail, giving them a permit, for a given time, to seemingly relinquish the union and yet remain members in good standing on the books of the association. In no case will a “lockout” be allowed where the members could have been working or sanctioned in accordance with Section 2 of this article.’

“With the present proportions of the society we find the chief executive officer has all he can attend to in advising, visiting and assisting in the work of conciliation, where ruptures have taken place between members and their operators, together with giving general directions and attending conferences. He has but little if any time to devote to the work of organizing new fields and the extension of the association. It is necessary also that districts, after they are organized, be visited by some officer who thoroughly understands the working of the institution, to assist and instruct the members regularly to keep them in a healthy and sound condition. Good men—men who labor hard and earnestly, unless visited and cheered by some one outside—often get despondent and discouraged because of the canker and worry consequent on the steady encounter of a thousand and one obstacles thrown in their way by those whose whole support they should have instead of a single opposition. Could an officer visit them, and if nothing else were done than to hear the story of the troubles by the officers and a ‘well done, good and faithful servant’ given, it would be a new impetus to the workers and would have a wonderful influence for good. To cover this we submit the following:

Amendment No. 4.

“‘Article VI, Section 5. The general president, with the consent of the executive board, is hereby empowered and authorized to employ one or more competent persons in each state embraced in the organization who shall be known as

"organizers," and whose duties shall be to organize new lodges or branches, visit the various lodges in the section prescribed as their field of labor, make reports to the general office and perform all such other duties as the president may from time to time determine and require at their hands.'

ON TRAVELING CARDS.

"As there has been some difficulty in regard to the interchange of the national cards by other societies, and vice versa, we believe something ought to be done to set this matter right, and enable all to work the cards understandingly. The following just now occurs to me as practicable:

"All lodges and branches of the Miners' National Association will receive a member into their fellowship as one of their own members, hailing from any regularly organized body of miners in this country or Europe, bearing with him a card duly filled in, certifying that he was a bona fide member of said association when said card was withdrawn. Provided, however, that he conforms to the constitution and by-laws of the Miners' National Association, pays all fees, dues and levies that have been made against the members of the lodge or branch into which he seeks admission from the date of his card till the date of his application to be admitted therein; and provided, also, that said member comes from a district whereat no branch or lodge of the Miners' National Association of the United States of America existed previous to the date of said member's card.

"And now, having submitted those matters, let me call your attention and ask your consideration on the momentous subject of co-operation. This question has been mooted a great deal and much talk has been about getting it in some way incorporated into the workings of the Miners' National Association. It is certainly an efficient lever in the hands of other trades, where it has been adopted and carried on upon sound business principles. Wherever it has been tried and conducted by persevering and competent men it has been a success. When it has failed it has been on account of some defect in the men who have had the management of it and not from any inherent wrong in the system. Were the causes of failure in the co-operative movement thoroughly investigated they would be found in the men who composed the stockholders or who directed the machine. Rightly conducted, in a way that would insure success as an independent business, the system of co-operation would necessarily be much more successful. In our own trade there are advantages for enlarging on this method, combining the operator and the operation, such as few others present. If we wish to raise

ourselves up to a higher civilization we can use no means that will better accomplish the end than those to be found in this system. If we desire to reap the full value of our labor no other system that has yet been discovered can give it so effectually as this. If we are in pursuit of justice no scale will mete it out so rapidly as this. Let something be done to set this ball in motion by this convention among our men. I have plans that might be of some service, formed in my own mind, but I prefer to hold them and let the convention take its own action on the subject. I trust from your deliberations on this question some definite plan will be evolved to enable the miners to be sharer in this truly great and good system.

"In conclusion let me ask that in all your discussions upon whatever questions may arise during your sessions here, that nothing but good feeling toward every man be the ruling characteristic. Let courteous and gentlemanly language be used only. When one man expresses his opinions, though another differs from him, let that difference be honestly yet civilly expressed. There need be no feeling between us under any circumstances. We are here to consider the interests of a very important part of the producers of America. Let us legislate in a way that they will be benefitted and we will be honored in so doing. Our motives must all be pure and for those whom we represent, and when each believes he is himself acting from those, be ready to accord the same to his brother representative. May our sessions be full of harmony, good will and productive of much good to all whom it may concern."

On motion the address was accepted, placed on record and ordered printed in the *Cleveland Herald*.

The following resolution was offered:

"Whereas, The operators of the country in a number of instances have seen fit to supplant their workingmen for the crime of having asked for their own, with armed banditti and lazzaroni from the slums of the large cities; and

"Whereas, The governments, both state and national, in having permitted the said banditti and lazzaroni to carry deadly firearms in a time of profound peace, has practically admitted the right of every American citizen to the same; therefore

"Resolved, That we recommend the members of the several miners' associations throughout the country to immediately provide themselves with a full supply of the best breech-loading rifles which the country affords."

On motion, debates were limited to speeches of five minutes each.

The report of the secretary and treasurer, showing receipts

to the amount of about \$14,000, with a balance on hand of \$4,000, were read and approved.

The association then had an adjournment until Wednesday morning at 8:30.

WEDNESDAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The president called the meeting to order promptly at half-past 8 o'clock. The roll being called and the delegates having answered to their names, the committee on finance, which was also authorized to audit the books of the secretary and treasurer, reported that they had examined the books and found them to be fully correct. The report was adopted and the committee discharged.

The *Herald*, containing the president's address, having just arrived, a recess of fifteen minutes was taken to allow members to mail papers containing the proceedings of the preceding day to their constituents.

On reassembling the chairman of the committee to consider the difference existing between the Miners' National Association and the Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association of Schuylkill county, Pennsylvania, submitted the following report:

"Whereas, The M. and L. B. A. of Schuylkill county, Pennsylvania, has made application to the Miners' National Association to be recognized as a separate organization as aforesaid, reserving the right to compel a member of the said Miners' National Association who may go to Schuylkill county to work to join the said M. and L. B. A., paying the usual initiation fee of that society; and

"Whereas, the said M. N. A. receives into full fellowship any member presenting a card from any recognized body, including cards of the miners from Great Britain and Europe; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we recommend the following: That the said M. N. A. concede the right to the M. and L. B. A. as aforesaid, of compelling any member of the M. N. A. who may go to that section to work to join the said M. and L. B. A., and pay the said initiation fee thereof, provided the M. and L. B. A. become subject to the M. N. A. in the payment of all moneys called for by the M. N. A. therefrom according to the rules of the M. N. A.

"E. B. WAGNER,
"JOHN POLLOCK,
"W. H. ROSE."

This report excited quite a lengthy debate, after which the following was offered as a substitute:

"It is hereby mutually agreed and understood between the Miners' National Association of the United States and the Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association of Schuylkill county, Pennsylvania, that there shall hereafter be allowed free interchange of traveling cards between the two associations; provided, however, that members of the one association depositing their cards with lodges, branches or districts of the other, shall be required before being entitled to the privilege of membership in said other association to conform in whole to the requirements of its constitution, laws and other regulations. It is also agreed that whenever a card from one association is deposited with the other, and the owner, having worked for a time under the jurisdiction of said other association, desires to return to the association from which he first came, if his card be still a clear card, he shall be admitted therein without the payment of an original or entrance fee. And it is further agreed between the two associations, they being identical in spirit and purpose, both aiming at the ultimate elevation of the working coal miners and miners' laborers to a higher position in the social scale than they have heretofore occupied, though they may be separate and distinct organizations, that whenever a reasonable possibility exists the one shall receive the moral countenance and practical support of the other. This agreement to take effect upon its ratification by this convention and by the M. and L. B. A. of Schuylkill county, Pennsylvania."

After considerable discussion on the subject, during which time several amendments to the substitute were offered, the previous question was called for, which was lost.

The following amendment to the substitute was offered by Mr. Laird of Pennsylvania:

"Provided, that no member shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he pay the usual initiation fees of the M. and L. B. A. and vice versa, except in cases where a member comes from lodges whose initiation fees and weekly benefits be equal to those of the lodge which he desires to enter."

On motion it was agreed to lay the substitute and amendment upon the table to be made the special order for Thursday at 9 o'clock, with the privilege of one hour's debate.

The committee on constitution declared their readiness to report and placed the following before the convention:

"The committee to whom was assigned the duty of examining the amendments to the constitution beg leave to report the following: The experience of the past year has but too fully demonstrated the inability of our organization to meet its obligations. The 10 cents per month proves in every in-

stance inadequate to meet the emergency. Money is powerful in the hands of those who would seek to dethrone our very manhood by robbing the laborer of his first reward. The organization is powerless for good until a fund is created sufficient to meet any emergency, in paying to its members according to constitution, thereby deterring unscrupulous monopoly from making any unjust demands on labor; therefore be it

“Resolved, That Article 3 of the present constitution be amended to read as follows, to wit: Strike out all after the word ‘association’ and insert in lieu thereof ‘paying as an initiation fee the sum of \$2.50 and 50 cents as monthly contributions every month thereafter.’

“Resolved, That we recommend the adoption of the amendments to the constitution as ratified by the different branches; and

“Whereas, the present constitution is defective in many respects to meet the requirements of an organization of a national character, and the time necessary to draft a new constitution being too short for this committee to attempt the task, therefore be it

“Resolved, That we recommend the appointment of a special committee, whose duty it shall be to draft a new constitution such as time and experience has proven necessary to meet the spirit of the times and the requirements of trades unions of the present age; said committee shall submit through the central office said new constitution to the entire association which, if ratified by two-thirds of the members thereof, shall become law. Said constitution to be submitted as soon as possible to each branch to take prompt action thereon and return result to central office.”

On motion the report was received and made the special order for the afternoon session, and the committee was continued.

On motion the convention adjourned till half-past 1 p. m.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.

At half-past 1 promptly the meeting was called to order, President Siney in the chair. The minutes were read and approved.

The president announced the following committees:

On Co-operation—John Dennin, D. McLaughlin, Illinois; Wm. Thompson, Ohio; James Chandler, Pennsylvania; John Graham, Ohio.

On Printing—Wm. Thompson, Ohio; D. McLaughlin, Illinois; M. Mendlehouse, Thos. Laird and Henry Hall.

The report of the committee on constitution was then taken up and the substitute to the resolution to strike out \$2 and insert \$5, strike out 50 cents and insert 25 cents, was lost.

This created a very long and spirited debate, amendment No. 2 bearing on the question of strikes and how they should be authorized. Almost every delegate on the floor participated and put the case and its effects in almost every conceivable shape. The afternoon was chiefly taken up in the debate. When put to a vote the amendment as read was sustained by a vote of fully two-thirds of all the delegates. A member moved as an amendment to Article 3 of the constitution :

"This association shall consist of all men and boys employed in and around the mines of the United States who will subscribe to the constitution and by-laws and be governed by them in all their parts, conforming to the principles on which they are based, and submit to the general laws of the association, pay an initiation fee of \$1 and 25 cents per month every month thereafter as dues."

The following substitute was offered for Article 3 :

"The initiation fees from all branches, with the first month's dues, shall be forwarded to the general secretary of the executive board, thence to the treasurer, to form a fund for current and contingent expenses."

An amendment was offered to the effect that the initiation fee only be forwarded to the general office. The amendment was lost and the original motion prevailed.

The committee on printing reported in favor of getting the proceedings of each day printed for the use of the members and then have a complete copy published for each representative.

On motion the report was received and the committee instructed to arrange as requested.

Mr. Dando of Illinois submitted that the president appoint nine members to draft a new constitution, to be printed when completed and sent to each lodge of the association to be ratified or rejected. Carried.

The convention next proceeded to the nomination of officers for the ensuing term.

For president, John Siney was placed in nomination and there being no opposition, Messrs. Davis, Thompson and Thomas were appointed to cast a ballot for the convention. The convention then elected Mr. Siney as president of the association.

A committee was appointed to notify Mr. Siney, who had retired, of his election and conduct him to the chair. Mr.

Siney, on being installed, thanked the convention for the confidence reposed in his leadership and for the mark of their esteem and approbation. He hoped that the miners would be able to raise an institution that would only be a power for good, and that its work would be only a means to the elevation of the miners of this country.

The session was then adjourned to Thursday morning.

THURSDAY MORNING SESSION.

The convention reassembled in the hall of the Industrial Council Thursday morning at half-past 8 o'clock, President Siney in the chair.

After roll call and the reading of the minutes the chair announced that the first business in order was the nomination and election of a first vice-president.

Messrs. William Thompson of Ohio, Daniel McLaughlin of Illinois, Jas. O'Halloran of Pennsylvania, Thomas Laird of Pennsylvania, S. Briggs of Indiana and D. A. Jones of Ohio were placed in nomination. Before a ballot was taken the hour of 9 o'clock arrived, when the special order, being the consideration of the report of the committee on alleged differences between the National Association and Miners and Laborers Benevolent Association of Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, together with the substitute offered therefor, Thursday, was taken up.

After a brief discussion the whole subject was recommitted to the committee, and the chair was instructed to appoint three additional members thereof. The chair announced as said additional members Messrs. J. F. Welsh, F. E. Brennan and C. Ben Johnson of Pennsylvania.

A ballot was then taken for first vice-president with the following result: McLaughlin, 10; Thompson, 14; Laird, 4; O'Halloran, 2; Briggs, 4, and Jones, 1.

Messrs. Briggs and Jones were withdrawn and a second ballot taken, which resulted in the election of Mr. Thompson by a vote of 19 against 17 cast for his several competitors.

Mr. James was, upon motion, declared unanimously re-elected to the office of secretary. Upon the announcement of the result, Mr. James thanked the convention for the honor they had done him, and promised to try to deserve so marked a manifestation of the confidence of the convention.

On motion Mr. D. H. Davis, the present incumbent, was unanimously chosen to serve as treasurer of the association for another term. Mr. Davis thanked the convention in a few brief remarks.

The following named gentlemen, having been recommended by the delegations from the several States, were then unani-

mously chosen as vice-presidents for said States: Thomas Laird, Pennsylvania; D. McLaughlin, Illinois; Louis Johnson, Wyoming Territory; John Pollock, Ohio; John Betz, Maryland. The balance of the State vice-presidents will hereafter be chosen by the State associations and confirmed by the national president.

On motion the following resolution amending the constitution, offered by Mr. Hall of Pennsylvania, was referred to the executive board:

"Resolved, That Section 3 of Article 8 of the constitution be amended as follows: The initiation fees, together with all monthly dues from all branches, shall be forwarded to the secretary of the executive board, thence to the treasurer, to form a fund for current and contingent expenses and for the support of members upon a strike."

The committee on co-operation presented the following report, which, on motion, was accepted and unanimously adopted:

"Your committee on co-operation have considered with exceptional care the important matter referred to them. They look upon co-operation as affording an opportunity for the founding, at some time in the future, of an organization where men who have been persecuted and victimized for the share they have taken in the good cause of unionism, can always find a safe refuge, besides securing us a knowledge of the selling prices of our product and more statistical information of the same character which we ought to possess and which we can not as well obtain in any other way, and providing a proof of the genuineness of our determination as trade unionists, which the moneyed interests will be compelled, however unwillingly, to recognize.

"We hold that within a very few years it will be possible for such an association as we all hope to build up to be the owners, through its members, of a sufficient number of collieries to give steady employment to from ten to twenty thousand miners. One hundred thousand miners, by paying 50 cents monthly, will furnish the means to sink and equip the mines, and we believe the association has within itself the brains necessary to run them successfully. But for the present the carrying out of so stupendous a scheme as this is an impossibility. We should not, however, remain altogether idle. We can experiment in a small way and at a trifling cost, and by closely watching and carefully nurturing such an initiatory project can give practical and profitable demonstration to the entire feasibility of the greater undertaking. We would, therefore, suggest that the president and secretary of the national association prepare petitions to be sent to the next session of

the national Congress and any or all of the State Legislatures, praying for a charter to organize one or more collieries to be conducted on the purely co-operative or industrial partnerships principle, or such modification of the joint stock plan as will make the shares \$5 each (or some similar sum), limit the number of shares which each individual can hold and allow each shareholder one vote only at the meetings held to enact regulations for the conduct of said collieries. And we would further recommend that the said president and secretary be empowered and instructed to take such measures, not antagonistic to our constitution or to the constitutions of the United States and the several States, as to them may seem best calculated to carry to a paying issue the proposed venture.

“JOHN DENNING,
“DANIEL McLAUGHLIN,
“WILLIAM THOMPSON,
“THOMAS LAIRD,
“JOHN GRAHAM,
“WILLIAM KLING.”

The committee on printing presented the following report:

“In view of the fact that regular and continuous correspondence between the central office and the various lodges and districts is necessary to the harmonious working of the association, therefore

“Resolved, That we, the undersigned committee, would recommend the publication of a monthly journal by the association, giving the report of the condition of the trade throughout the various mining regions; also the reports of the various lodges or districts; also monthly reports of the president, secretary and treasurer, and such other matter as may be of benefit to the association. This journal shall be edited and published by the executive officers of the association, and shall be issued on or about the first of each month.

“In our opinion the journal should be self-sustaining, each body receiving such a number of copies as their numbers may determine, and being responsible to the central office for payment of the same.

“It shall be the duty of the various secretaries of the lodges or districts to forward to the central office their monthly reports not later than the 20th of each month.

“WILLIAM THOMPSON,
“THOMAS LAIRD,
“DANIEL McLAUGHLIN,
“HENRY HALL,
“MATTHEW NESSALHAUS.”

The president having been called upon for an explanation as to why he had not visited Bethel, Pennsylvania, during the recent trouble there, as had been promised by the secretary, responded briefly. He had at the time other engagements previously entered into which would not admit of postponement. He trusted, however, that the time would soon come when his promise could be fulfilled, and that when it did come he would find them enjoying individual prosperity and strong as regards national unionism.

On motion of Mr. Dando it was ordered that the expenses of deputies authorized for the central office to adjust difficulties in the several States be paid out of the national treasury.

The following resolution, offered by Mr. Thomas, was adopted:

“Resolved, That it is the duty of all workingmen to do what they can to spread the circulation of labor literature, to which end we recommend to the miners of the United States the *Workingman's Advocate* of Chicago, *The Workingman* of Pottsville and the *Labor Tribune* of Pittsburg, which we believe can at all times be depended upon to tell the exact truth concerning our movements and our necessities.”

The convention then took a recess.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The convention was called to order at half-past 1 o'clock. The roll was called and the reading of the minutes of the morning session was dispensed with.

On motion of Mr. O'Halloran the action of the convention on the amendment to Section 3, Article 8, was reconsidered. It was moved that the word “quarter” be stricken out of said amendment and the word “month” inserted.

After discussion the whole matter was referred to the committee on constitution.

The enlarged special committee, appointed to consider the alleged differences between the M. N. A. and the M. and L. B. A. of Schuylkill county, Pennsylvania, then submitted an amended report recommending the adoption of the following:

“It is hereby mutually agreed and understood between the M. and L. B. A. of Schuylkill county, Pennsylvania and the M. N. A. of the United States that there shall hereafter be allowed a free interchange of traveling cards between the associations; provided, that members of the one association depositing their cards with lodges, branches or districts of the other shall be required, before being entitled to the privileges of membership in said other associations, to pay the difference, if any, between the initiation fees charged by the

two associations and conform in all other respects to its constitution, by-laws and other regulations.

"It is also agreed that when once a miner has been a member of either of the said two associations he shall forever thereafter be entitled to readmission, provided that constantly during the intervals of his absence therefrom he has been a consistent member of any bona fide Miners' Protective and Benevolent Association.

"And it is further agreed between the two associations, they being identical in spirit and purpose, both aiming at the ultimate elevation of the working coal miner and mine laborer to a higher position in the social scale than that which they have heretofore occupied, though they are separate and distinct in the mere matter of organization, that whenever a reasonable possibility exists, the one shall receive the moral countenance and practical support of the other.

"This agreement to take effect upon its ratification by this convention and by the executive committee of the said M. and L. B. A. of Schuylkill county, Pennsylvania, and all differences that may arise under it to be settled by arbitration between the two associations.

"E. B. WAGNER,
"JOHN POLLOCK,
"M. DANDO,
"W. H. ROSE,
"ROBERT LINN,
"JOHN F. WELSH,
"FRANK BRUMAN,
"C. BEN JOHNSON,
"Committee."

On motion the recommendations of the committee were unanimously adopted and the announcement of the result was greeted with applause.

The chair announced the following additional members of the committee to remain after the adjournment of the convention to amend the constitution: D. McLaughlin, Illinois; William Thompson, Ohio; James O'Halloran, Pennsylvania, and John Betz, Maryland.

The following motion was made and referred:

"That when the president finds it impossible to repair to a state where a difficulty is to be adjusted, he shall deputize the vice-president of the state to act in his stead, and the decision of said vice-president shall be final."

On motion the amendment raising the entrance fee and

monthly dues was submitted to the lodges for their ratification at the earliest practicable day.

The following resolution was passed :

"Resolved, That the various lodges and branches are hereby instructed to take immediate action on the proposed amendment to the constitution increasing the entrance fee and monthly dues, and it is ordered that those who do not make return of their decision within thirty days of the sending out of the proceedings will be counted as having voted in the affirmative."

James O'Halloran of Pennsylvania submitted the following, which was adopted :

"Whereas, the miners' national convention held in Cleveland on the 27th, 28th and 29th of October, having heard the report of the labors of the president, as well as the reports of the secretary and treasurer, which gave entire satisfaction; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we tender them a vote of thanks for their services in the past, and declare our full and implicit confidence in them in the future, and ask for them a hearty support of all the miners throughout the United States of America."

The secretary was empowered to alter the number of the various lodges and to make the number run from one upward, according to seniority.

A motion that the office of assistant secretary be created was referred to the committee on constitution.

A motion by John Pollock to the effect that "Whereas, the delinquency of many of the members is exerting a detrimental influence, the several lodges be requested to forward to the central office the cards of all who can afford to pay their indebtedness, and who are, notwithstanding, in arrears after January 15, 1875," was carried.

A motion by David Harris that the executive board have power to procure the services of an assistant secretary whenever they deem it necessary was referred to the executive board.

The following is a list of the delegates present :

David Harris, William Ramsey, Tioga county, Pennsylvania; R. L. Jones, Fayette county, Pennsylvania; Henry Hall, Mercer county, Pennsylvania; James O'Halloran and D. J. Thomas, Luzerne county, Pennsylvania; John Siney, St. Clair, Schuylkill county, Pennsylvania; William Randolph, Allegheny county, Pennsylvania; Christopher Evans, Mercer

county, Pennsylvania; William T. Jones, Pomeroy, Meigs county, Ohio; William H. Rose, Belmont county, Ohio; David H. Davis, Ohio; Louis Johnson, Wyoming Territory; John Betz, Alleghany county, Maryland; J. Vaverick, Will county, Illinois; John Murtha, Vermillion county, Illinois; John James, Braidwood, Will county, Illinois; M. Dando, Illinois; John Denning, LaSalle county, Illinois; David A. Jones, Trumbull county, Ohio; Thomas Philips, Churchill, Ohio; Joseph Philips, Ohio; John B. Chisholm, Neshannock, Pennsylvania; Samuel Briggs, Fountain county, Indiana; Patrick Crawford, Pennsylvania; Frank Lawson, Pennsylvania; Robert Todd, Akron, Ohio; M. Nessalhaus, Illinois; Daniel McLaughlin, Braidwood, Illinois; Thomas Laird, Mercer county, Pennsylvania; William Thompson, Mineral Ridge, Ohio; Robert Todd, Clay county, Indiana; John T. Jones, Trumbull county, Ohio; John Pollock, Tuscarawas Valley, Ohio; Joseph Graham, Ohio; James Chandler, Dauphin county, Pennsylvania; John F. Welsh, C. Ben Johnson and Francis Brennan, Schuylkill county, Pennsylvania; David Morris, Ohio; E. B. Wagner, Pennsylvania; representing 224 lodges and branches of the association, with a membership of 24,000.

“Resolved, Before this body separate that we tender a vote of thanks to the press of the city of Cleveland for the fairness and fulness of the reports they have given of the proceedings of this convention.”

After considerable business pertaining exclusively to the organization had been disposed of a motion was carried to adjourn the convention *sine die*.

In commenting on the work of the convention the *Cleveland Leader* said:

“The delegates were all genuine workingmen, and the association is fortunate in being officered by men who have at heart the real interest of the miners and not merely their own personal advantage. The opening address of President Siney was a calm, practical, common sense document. The Miners’ Association has shown itself worthy of the vast influence which it holds over a class of men who need the aid of wise and intelligent council and control.”

CHAPTER VII.

APPEAL FOR AID.

After reading the proceedings of the miners' national convention of October, 1874, it will be seen that the true spirit of unionism prevailed throughout, and that while the coal trade had been extremely dull during the first year of its existence, the membership had increased remarkably well. Owing to the continued depression in trade, however, and the constant menace of reduced wages going on in several states, the situation caused considerable discontent among the workers and at the same time was taxing the thoughts of the officials with more than ordinary concern.

In many places strikes were engaged in without any possible hope of success, other than an effort to check the downward tendency of wages that had reached a point beyond which there seemed to be no control. Mine workers, generally speaking, had become desperate because of the deplorable condition they, with their families, were in, with no hope of redress, unless the cause of their distress was first removed. This, they believed, could be better brought about by the removal of the drug from the market, or in other words, stop mining coal until it was needed.

Xingo Parks, a young man full of vim and vigor, in his campaign as national organizer, had been very successful in organizing local unions, but just as soon as the miners were organized strikes filled the air with more than ordinary promptness and contrary to the advice given by the national officials, who had admonished them not to strike under any circumstances, but to make the best terms possible with their employers. At the mines where strikes had been entered into the operators brought in strikebreakers and the situation became very grave.

The strikers, realizing the false step they had taken in not following the advice of the general officers of the union, sent for Siney to come and help them in their distress. In company

with Xingo Parks, the national organizer, President Siney attended several meetings in the district and discussed the situation in all its details, giving such counsel and advice as he deemed best to counteract the effect of the imported men. At all the meetings held operators' detectives were present, making notes of all that was said for future use, the result was that both were arrested, charged with conspiracy and inciting to riot.

Office Miners' National Association, 75 Central Place,
Cleveland, Ohio, July 14, 1875.

AN APPEAL.

To the Officers, Members and Other Friends:

Brothers—The conviction of the Clearfield miners for conspiracy under the laws of Pennsylvania and the coming trial of Messrs. Siney and Parks place us in a position which compels us to appeal to you for assistance and support. There is no doubt a strong determination on the part of a portion of the coal capital of that State to prosecute President Siney and Mr. Parks to a conviction, and if possible have the full penalty of the law awarded as the penalty for their crime, which we were going to write. But it is not true; they committed no crime. The poor men now in prison, by the finding of a jury and the sentence of Judge Orvis, did that only which every trade unionist in his meeting room is doing, whether as officer or member, every day of his life—peaceably counseling with each other the best way lawfully and legitimately to advance his own and fellow man's condition. For this they have been dragged from their homes and tried under a law which the workingmen of Pennsylvania should blush to think has stood on the statute books for more than ten years. Their wives and children are helpless and unprovided for, and ought not to be allowed to suffer while the husbands and fathers are suffering in a dungeon for the criminal neglect of the workingmen voters of this powerful commonwealth. Today their imprisonment is a sacrifice upon the altar of labor's indifference, and will be an acceptable one if it will only arouse them that they may rise in their might and have it swept from off the books. Men of Pennsylvania, their fate today is your fate tomorrow. If these men are criminally guilty, so are you—so is every trade unionist in the land, and they are the few from the flock who are chosen as an expiation for the sins of the whole.

John Siney and Xingo Parks—what have they done? They, too, are under bail charged with the same offense for which

the law condemns their fellowmen. Their trial comes off in the beginning of September. The ablest talent is engaged to hound them down to a similar or a worse fate than those who have just been sent to prison. Those are the smaller, these the larger fish. Siney and Parks are really the men the coal companies are after. They are the representatives of a great and growing organization of labor that has for its object the advancement and improvement of the coal miners of this continent, and this is the crime those men in fact have committed and for which they must be placed in durance vile and their names tarnished before the world. In ancient times and under the rule of the aristocratic governments it was the custom to burn, torture and imprison men for their belief and adherence to the principles we, in this age, cherish, as the foundations of our dearest rights and won for us by the blood of a thousand martyrs. In those days the law was interpreted to justify the judges and make such deeds as pleasing in the sight of God. In those days men were found to do the work of persecution by perjury and misrepresentation as they are now, and curious enough, money was used to influence talent and prostitute office. Truth and virtue ever have been traduced, and the men who stand up for it as representing the poor against the rich made victims and compelled to suffer. But such are the men whose memories we all revere and whose names appear among the long array of history's noblest gems. The greater the trials the more dear they are to us; what they suffered only intensifies our love of the objects for which they were buffeted. Thus it is that all acts of oppression only tend to nurture what they are intended to destroy. Principles can never be annihilated. For a time they may be buried in the dust, but like the purest gems, when dug up they shine forth in all their pristine beauty. This is what these men are arraigned for, and for this, if convicted at all, they will be punished.

Our constitution makes no provision for the use of the funds of the association to be applied for the purpose of law expenses. As the best legal talent is engaged to prosecute so must we have ability equal to it, else a conviction is sure to result from the trial. We can not afford to let this be the case, and we should consider ourselves derelict if we did not provide as good a defense as the country can furnish. In consequence of no authority being vested in your executive to draw upon the funds for such an object, we must appeal to the members of our organization and all others whose sense of justice will inspire them to provide the means to pay counsel. So far Mr. Siney has been to considerable personal expense, and Mr. Parks has been giving his whole time in connection with the case. This they can not afford to do, and it would be unfair

for them to do so if they could. Hence we now ask every lodge and such other friends as feel like it, whether of our trade or not, to assist us in this emergency by whatever they can afford. We do not stipulate any sum; we know it is a hard time and many can not afford to pay. But "our poverty and not our will consents." Should there be any surplus left, we shall properly apply it to some worthy purpose that will meet the approbation of the donors.

Hoping for an early response, we remain,

Respectfully yours,

WM. THOMPSON,
JOHN BETZ,
THOS. LAIRD,
LOUIS JOHNSON,
D. H. DAVIS,
D. McLAUGHLIN,
ROBT. LINN,
JOHN POLLOCK,
JOHN JAMES.

The Shenango valley miners of Mercer county, Pennsylvania, were only a few miles distant from the Mahoning valley miners of Ohio, and they oftentimes acted together on questions that affected both States. Owing to the agitation going on among the miners of the two valleys mentioned, the local officials of the two valleys issued a call for a joint convention to be held at Youngstown, Ohio. After being in session two days it was finally decided to cease work jointly as a protest against the reduction proposed, and for the maintenance of the then prevailing rates. The question of revenue to carry on strikes in those days was made a secondary consideration, and this struggle was no exception to the rule.

After a cessation of work for three months the Mahoning valley miners gave up the contest, but the Shenango valley miners continued the struggle alone about five months longer. When the contest was entered into it was well known that the national officials of the union were opposed to strikes, having issued circulars to that effect. Under these conditions the oft-repeated struggles were entered into without having made any provisions for support and, in consequence, relied entirely on a sympathetic public for aid needed to relieve their suffering wants until the end came.

Some time after the strike began it was thought advisable to open up a commissary, elect officers and appoint committees to solicit aid. Chris Evans was elected president of the relief board of the Shenango valley miners. From the meager returns made by the solicitors it was soon made evident that the source of supply was very limited and for this reason the weekly stipend for those who were compelled to have food was placed at a given amount per head, confined to flour and corn meal. After eight months of this kind of diet rumor's watchful eye sang out the song of distress and reported an intended break at one of the mines. Although hunger betrayed the faces of many brave warriors in the contest, the thought of a single break in the ranks preyed heavily on their minds and proved more than the majority could or would permit without a protest.

On the eve of the intended desertion angry crowds assembled and suggestions out of number sprang forth with alarming rapidity until midnight, when a medley band and a medley crew started to scour the district for recruits. At an early hour in the morning the marchers had taken possession of the surrounding territory where the mine was located for the resumption of work. A little while before it was time to commence work a mass meeting was held with all that had joined the midnight throng, as well as those who had reported for work. A chairman being selected, the speaking began with a force of eloquence, not of the Cicero type, but the persuasive and soul-stirring arguments used were so convincing that the danger point was soon overcome, after relating the new fields to which the solicitors were going and the prospects of more and better food for the contending parties still in the field. Words can hardly express the change of feeling and pleasant-ries used at the close of the meeting.

On returning from the meeting a little later on, a friendly adviser quoted a remark he had heard made to the effect that "if Chris Evans had been living on flour and corn meal for eight months he would not have talked as he did at the meeting just closed." At this time John Newton, a member of the Keel Ridge or Hermitage Local Union, had loaned the commissary board \$600 to buy flour and corn meal. With this debt on their

shoulders the board decided to send John B. Chisholm, an intelligent and noble-hearted fellow, to solicit aid in the anthracite coal field, and Chris Evans was sent to the Hocking valley district of Ohio. The latter was given sufficient funds that would enable him to reach the national office at Cleveland, Ohio, with the understanding that he must work his way the best he could the balance of the journey allotted him.

On arriving at national headquarters and explaining the situation in the Shenango valley of Pennsylvania, the national officers decided to send \$300, after which, with their assistance, Evans wended his way to the Hocking valley coal fields. On arriving there he visited Nelsonville, New Straitsville, Shawnee and the surrounding territory. After 'two weeks' canvassing in and around the mines, with the aid of Patrick Clark and other friends who went into the mines with him, he collected \$200.

While discussing union affairs during the Hocking valley visit the question arose as to what the mysterious five stars meant that was going the rounds of the daily press, on some secret order with which few seemed to be conversant, and Evans was asked the question whether or not he knew anything about it. Having been a member for a few months and pretty well trained on the forbidden usages connected with it, he at once communicated with John M. Davis, master workman of district No. 3, Knights of Labor, a partner of Thomas A. Armstrong of the *National Labor Tribune* of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, advising him to send an organizer into the Hocking valley coal field. Davis immediately replied and sent Evans authority to act as preceptor, the result of which was that local assembly No. 120, Knights of Labor, was organized by Chris Evans at New Straitsville, Ohio, in October, 1875. It was later attached to District No. 7 of Ohio.

At the end of two weeks' canvass in the Hocking valley district Evans returned to his home in the woods of Mercer county, Pennsylvania, a sadly dejected man, when he found on his arrival that the miners on strike had given up the contest and had been at work several days. The defeat was a severe blow to organization in the Mercer county coal field of Pennsylvania for several years.

On summing up the financial affairs of the strike commissary it was consoling to find that with the \$300 sent from the national office at Cleveland, Ohio, \$200 collected from the Hocking valley miners and \$100 collected by John B. Chisholm in the anthracite coal field of Pennsylvania, enabled the strike relief board to cancel its debt of \$600 that it had borrowed—a finding mingled with joy and regret. Joy, because of its ability to refund the money loaned by a true and loyal friend; regret, because of the gloomy future such a defeat meant to the worthy participants that had sacrificed so much to bring about success. It was a courageous effort to maintain living wages, and well worthy of more satisfactory results.

The record shows that Hermitage Local Union No. 29, District No. 2, made its last payment to the national office at Cleveland, Ohio, February 19, 1876, on thirteen members.

SINEY-PARKS TRIAL.

The grand jury found true bills against John Siney and Xingo Parks and their trials were set for the next term of court, to be held in September at Clearfield, Pennsylvania. They were put under bonds of \$500 each. At their trial the shorthand notes that had been taken at the meetings held, together with the testimony of special police, had a strong bearing on the convictions intended. An attempt was made to convict the national union, through its officials, under the plea that the acts and speeches made by Siney and Parks, together with its printed documents, constitutions and laws, represented the acts of the national union and made it equally guilty of a criminal violation of the conspiracy law of the state.

Matthew Carpenter of Wisconsin and Benjamin Butler of Massachusetts were considered among the highest in the profession of law, and ably represented in a legal way the miners' cause.

To assist the prosecuting attorney of Clearfield county, the coal companies and the railroad company had also employed the best legal talent available in the person of William A. Wallace, United States Senator of Pennsylvania. With the engagement of these giant intellects on law both sides were well represented, from a legal standpoint, and the case cre-

ated unusual interest. During the trials the courtroom was thronged with eager crowds, anxious to hear the oratory displayed and verdicts rendered.

There was a great desire on the part of the operators to convict Siney, they believing that if he could be sent to the penitentiary the union would collapse. Coal operators throughout the entire country were very much interested for the same reason and the miners' unions were equally interested because of the effect it would have should they be able to get Siney out of the way.

The counsel for the defense contended that other States had exempted labor unions from criminal prosecution for combining for self interest, that the conspiracy law under which it was sought to convict Siney and Parks was taken from England, in colonial days, and had long been repealed over there. With the following sentences added the arguments for the defense closed:

If you convict John Siney and Xingo Parks under this law, will it be, in the minds of a reading and intelligent public, John Siney or Xingo Parks, or the county of Clearfield and the State of Pennsylvania that is disgraced? This I leave to you, gentlemen of the jury, by your verdict to decide.

The penetrating arguments of counsel for the prosecution were austere, sharp and incisive in their justification and for the enforcement of the conspiracy law. In his address to the court and jury the counselor said:

Shall this court and this jury fear to punish these men for a criminal violation of our law because the counsel for the defense says our law is old? Setting aside that provision which makes it a crime to combine for the purpose stated. if that could be done, and it can not be done, every State in the Union has a conspiracy law, also a law which makes riot a crime. By the testimony those men, John Siney and Xingo Parks, did assist, in this combination of miners, for the purpose of raising wages, and it is your bounden duty under the provision of the law to bring in a verdict of guilty.

Before the trial commenced there was a doubtful feeling that Parks would be convicted, but there was every reason to believe that with the trial of Siney alone no evidence could be produced against him that would cause his incarceration in

any form. The feeling of Siney, however, was to use all means possible that would have a tendency to save Parks, no matter what the effect would be on his own case. For this reason both Siney and Parks were put on trial together, believing that the latter would benefit from this course of action.

After a short consultation of the jury a verdict was rendered acquitting Siney, but Parks was convicted for riot and inciting to riot and sentenced to go to the penitentiary for one year. His confinement, however, was of short duration, as Governor Hartranft pardoned him and he returned home. Several other miners were arrested, but were later released, either through lack of testimony to convict or other reasons left unexplained.

The influence of the national organization was increasing daily, and creating a feeling of unrest among the operators everywhere.

CHAPTER VIII.

THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION.

At the third annual convention held at Cleveland, Ohio, in October, 1875, the membership was much larger than at any time since the organization was founded, but the numerous strikes that had taken place during the year and after its adjournment began to effect the receipts from the local unions to an alarming degree. Many of the local unions had depleted their treasuries of funds during the conflicts in which they had engaged, and in many instances the spirit of organization seemed to have lost all its charms, owing to the disastrous defeats encountered, together with the unmerciful methods of operators that were now able to handle their miners at will. "Vengeance is mine," was displayed in every form at many of the mines after the miners had returned to work. The leading characters among them during the contests, in some instances, after their return suffered inconceivable humiliation and the dart of ridicule heaped upon them was of a nature that tore the inner soul with pangs of feeling that fairly punctured the conscience of manhood in its worst form.

Such conditions after the strikes were over were too often referred to and used as weapons to tear down the organization instead of trying to increase its strength.

The effect of so many defeats during the year was plainly visible while the convention had under consideration the events of the year through which it had just passed. The arrest of President Siney and conviction of Parks, the national organizer, together with its consequences, had a telling effect on officers and delegates alike. The question of adopting some plan of relief occupied much of the time, and how to relieve the situation was uppermost on the minds of all present.

After a careful review of past and present surroundings a resolution was introduced directing President Siney to go to Tennessee for the purpose of investigating and purchasing coal land and operating mines on the co-operative plan, for which the constitution already provided. As per instructions Siney went to Tennessee and, after investigation, obtained an option on several acres of coal land which was turned over to John James, secretary, with instructions to open up books for subscriptions to purchase the property optioned, but interest in the national union had already entered on the declining stage and very few shares were sold.

Although President Siney and Secretary James had used more than ordinary skill and days of serious reflection as to the best method by which they could check the growing tendency for disintegration, their power had lost its force and the influence and strength the national organization had once possessed was now gradually waning away.

To these two men that had sacrificed so much in the interest of miners everywhere, that their whole life's work had failed to reach the much desired object they had in view, bore heavily upon them. No braver hearts and faithful adherence to principles that they started out to accomplish were found in the mining fields, nor were there ever any stronger efforts made, in any branch of industry, to bring about better conditions and the elevation of the constituents they were elected to serve. Their unselfish purpose to make life better than they found it was never better illustrated in the annals of time, but the end was near. All the ills of life were now at-

tributed to the national union that had safeguarded the miners of the United States through one of the most trying periods of life against a power of opposition very difficult to describe.

In the early part of the year 1876 the mining situation was gradually growing worse. The downward tendency of the coal markets caused further reductions in wages paid, and trade was falling off at almost every point.

Local unions that had somewhat recovered from the effect of the strikes, and had commenced to pay dues to the national union, were now placed in a position that made it very difficult to continue because of their inability to get either gold, silver or greenbacks for work done. In the Mercer county coal field of Pennsylvania the miners were paid with checks, payable with interest six months after date and later on were notified that the payments for work done would be discontinued altogether for four months, with a proviso that provisions could be procured from the company store at Sharon, five miles distant from where the mines were located. These surroundings, with the proper union spirit gone, together with the unquestionable fact that the entire country was going through a period of unusual depression, brought about a condition that the national union could not overcome and it ceased to exist.

With grief at heart and mind almost shattered, John Siney left the national office in care of James, and returned to his home at St. Clair, Pennsylvania, unwilling to accept any portion of the salary due him because of the lack of funds necessary to pay the debts the national union had incurred.

John James, the secretary, continued to act until the work of his office was cleared up and all debts paid, which were taken from his own resources, amounting to nearly \$700. This amount was due him at the time the office was closed. John James died in 1903.

John Siney was in possession of sterling qualities. His candor in all his dealings was always made clear and portrayed the true character of the man. His integrity carried with it the bearing of a desire to command respect, coupled with a force and intention to receive in return the right due the worker as well as the employer. His aim in life seems to have been one of insistence that justice should be meted out

to all men and all things with which he came in contact, no matter how wide the social space between them was. His power as an organizer of men has been rarely equaled in the annals of contest between organized labor on the one hand and organized capital on the other. He never allowed self interest to act as a barrier between right and wrong, regardless of how severe the loss may be to himself when he believed justice demanded action to serve with honor, the many as against the few. His whole life was an epitome of good deeds that followed him to his grave, and while the recipients of the good work he accomplished in the sixties and seventies failed to do him justice, in his later years, after his demise, their injustice towards him returned to them its full share of regret in the loss sustained after death had called him from this field of action on the 16th day of April, 1880.

These lessons ought to teach the present as well as future generations the value of such a devoted character to the cause he loved so well in serving the best interest of the weak, as against the strong, in the everlasting battle for justice and freedom to all mankind.

John James, the secretary, was said to have written the first constitution of the national union. His practical and theoretical education combined made him a fitting representative for the work assigned him. The manifold duties connected with his position often kept him in the background, so far as his appearance on the public stage was concerned, but the pure motives and self-sacrificing traits of character he possessed contributed untold value to the mine workers of his time, and like the hidden treasures found later on produced a quality of richness and purity that few men possess when called upon to serve mankind on just and equitable lines. James was elected secretary at the first convention held at Youngstown, Ohio. After accepting the position to serve the mine workers, he sold out his mercantile business at Braidwood, Illinois, and took up his abode at Cleveland, Ohio, the headquarters of the national union.

Such characters are well worthy of admiration and respect, but in the hurry and bustle of life the beauties of their nature

are too carelessly overlooked, their past forgotten, and they are known no more.

The period through which John Siney and John James were president and secretary of the miners' national union was one of unusual depression. Periods of dullness in trade were looked upon as being inevitable, and like the skin wounds to which mankind is heir consumed a certain length of time before it would heal and occupy its normal place for action in the busy world it once played a part. For this reason there is little cause for alarm at the trials and tribulations through which they passed during their three years of continued struggles to maintain a living wage for the mine workers of the United States.

CHAPTER IX.

LOCAL STRUGGLES REVIVED.

In the early spring of 1877 miners continued to organize on the local independent plan. Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Maryland formed local unions, as the spirit moved them, too hastily sometimes to have the effect they so much desired. Competition had now begun to show a marked degree of thrift in the coal trade, but the tendency to reduce prices was still going on, and strikes many times entered into proved inefficient of good results because of their local actions and the necessity of a stronger concentrated effort on the part of the whole.

After the collapse of the national union, in many localities where the local unions had been strong supporters of it and reasonably successful in adjusting their grievances the miners were often chagrined at their inability to handle or check the continued tendencies for lower prices. This proved to them how much easier it was to adjust matters when the national union was the ground work on which they often based their claims when contending for justice due them. It also proved the mistaken policy of working on single lines. Local difficulties frequently occurred, ending in turmoil and loss in almost every encounter. In many of the mining centers it was a

difficult matter to get the miners and operators together for the purpose of consultation, no matter how serious the case might have been. If the operators felt like reducing mining rates, they would simply post a notice at the mine or mines in question today that a reduction of 5 or 10 cents per ton would be made tomorrow, or a few days later, and the same course was pursued when the miners demanded an advance of 5 or 10 cents per ton, with this difference, that a committee selected at a meeting of miners in the mine or outside would be authorized to wait on the coal company or companies, present their claims, and, if refused, a strike was the result. As joint partners operators' and miners' consultations were few in number, and the business suffered proportionately. The lines of demarcation were closely drawn between coal miners and their employers. And the social space was often made too great for any profitable results.

The Hocking valley miners of Ohio have always been noted for their aggressive work in the formation of unions since coal mining was made the chief industry of the district in the early seventies. Some of the old pioneer operators in charge of the mines were also made of a composition very much like the fellow whose sole thought was the belief that the business he conducted was his own, and that all partners in the deal outside of himself, should remain silent. As months and years rolled by these traits of character increased rather than otherwise, and any midway ground never entered the portals of the haughty minds they now possessed.

In July, 1877, the great railroad strike began at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, causing great commotion among the Ohio mine workers of the Hocking valley and the Pittsburgh district of Pennsylvania. In the latter place confusion reigned supreme, followed by rioting to an alarming degree.

The strike of the railroad men spread rapidly throughout the mining centers of Pennsylvania and Ohio. At Newark, Ohio, the United States soldiers were in full force and the surrounding country throughout was in warlike attire. In order to try to aid the railroad men the Hocking valley miners took possession of a train at Shawnee and were on their way to Newark on the B. & O. railroad when it was

discovered that a railroad bridge over which they had to pass before reaching there was on fire, and through the advice of railroad men on strike they returned home.

The situation throughout the Hocking valley region became very uproarious, and the strike feeling intensely increased as the days passed by. The miners were holding meetings on the hillside, discussing how much advance they should ask on the prices being paid. At New Straitsville, Ohio, a demand was made for an advance of 20 cents per ton. J. D. Martin, the principal or leading mine owner of the valley, went to the meeting and proposed to pay an advance of 10 cents per ton at once, and later promised to pay another advance of 10 cents. Mr. Martin, in his address to the miners, sometimes created confusion, while at other times his remarks were more effective on the lines he proposed. He was a fluent talker, mild in his expressions, coupled with a suasive power of eloquence, such as few men possess. After considerable discussion among the miners themselves, they finally resolved to accept the offer of 10 cents per ton advance and returned to work.

While there was at no time in the Hocking district any stipulated salaried officers, either local or district, or chartered open local unions of miners alone between the years 1870 and 1885, the officers and delegates were paid their daily wage for attending conventions or for other duties they were elected to perform. Their methods of unity at the mines, their valley delegations and their district conventions were equal to the best of organizations, and the results attained were sometimes marvelously great.

During the years 1877 and 1878 mixed local assemblies of the Knights of Labor were being organized throughout the mining regions, but there was always something lacking in the mixed local where the doctor, the grocer and the business men were called upon to act on questions in which the mine workers alone were directly interested. The commercial man rarely looks upon a strike in the same light the coal miner does, nor does he contribute much, as a rule, to encourage a cessation of work, no matter how pressing the case might be or to what extent the miner suffers through unjust practices imposed upon him. The secret union, however, found many

followers because of the opportunity it offered to shield its members when expressing and formulating ideas upon which they could defend themselves against frequent attacks made upon them.

In many of the mining centers open and secret unions could be found in the same town, and in numberless instances both unions dealing with the same subject, but the conclusions reached were sometimes widely different. To maintain two unions, with practically the same object in view, began to have its effect, especially so with those members that belonged to both bodies, and there were many of the miners who contributed to both. This double taxation, with all its tendencies to divide the feeling of unity, created considerable animosity in the miners' ranks, which proved disastrous to miners, but the operators enjoyed it immensely and took advantage of every opportunity in the premises. Both the secret and open unions had strong advocates in nearly all the coal-producing States, but the dual methods adopted often left the miners of both unions in the background. On these lines the advocates of the open and secret bodies became rivals in the field, and, like the politician pure and simple, each member paved the way best calculated to serve the union of which he was a member at the expense and loss of the unions involved.

The years 1878 and 1879 brought about a few changes in the way of organizing locally. The Tuscarawas and Hocking valley miners in Ohio held conventions at intervals in their respective districts through the years mentioned, but the State as a whole was poorly organized.

A miners' State convention was held at Mansfield, Ohio, on February 3-4, 1880, at which the Tuscarawas and Hocking valleys played conspicuous parts. During the proceedings of the convention the screen question, eight hours and semi-monthly payments were freely discussed. By resolution a levy of 2 cents per miner was to be collected to defray general expenses.

Officers elected were as follows: President, P. J. Hanley, New Straitsville; vice-president, Thomas Price, Mineral Ridge; secretary, W. A. Davis, Massillon, and treasurer, D. J. Williams, Pigeon Run. John McBride and Bennett Brown were

delegates from the northern field, and Joseph Turner and Chris Evans were among the delegates representing the Hocking valley district.

There was a strong feeling on the part of the northern delegates to pass a resolution favoring a uniform screen of one-half of one inch between the bars throughout the State. This, of course, would reduce the size of the Hocking valley screen three-fourths of one inch—a great inducement, provided the passage of a resolution was all that was necessary to put it into effect; but the many contentions on the part of the latter to even get a uniform screen of one and one-fourth inches throughout the district convinced the Hocking valley delegates how futile the attempt would be, and for this reason they used all the force at their command to prevent such a resolution being passed. There was much heated discussion pro and con in the convention on the question at issue, and all parliamentary tactics known to the coal miner were displayed, including all amendments and substitutes for which Cushing's rules of order provided, but to no effect. The majority held sway, the resolution passed, but the one-half inch screen never played any part in the Hocking valley coal field.

A number of local assemblies of the Knights of Labor, with miners in the majority, were organized in the Pittsburg district of Pennsylvania in 1879. Business was in a recuperative mood and the miners, concluding they were entitled to a share of the profit gained, made a demand that wages be advanced. The demand being refused, a strike resulted that continued for some time, and with their treasury almost depleted they were brought to the point of giving up the fight when David R. Jones, having heard something to the miners' advantage, advised them to continue their struggle a little longer.

Jones had worked in the coal mines in his earlier years, but through a persistent individual effort to secure an education that would help him in his future life he went to an Ohio college while yet young, graduated, and began to study law in the city of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. This elevation in life placed him in a position to learn more of the business situation than was possible for his former associates in the mines

to attain. Jones, realizing that trade was reviving, together with his deep-rooted interest in the coal miner boys of his youth and his warmth of heart for their future well being, spoke to them advisedly to continue their struggle, and success followed.

With victory achieved, the feeling for Jones grew intensely fervent and his devoted followers for a time numbered thousands in the Pittsburg district. Bent upon a desire to take advantage of the success brought about through the intervention of Jones in their behalf, the Pittsburg miners organized and elected him president of the union, giving him such individual power and authority that no other man ever possessed. The unlimited confidence the miners had in their leader and advisor had no bounds. His every act was looked upon as being supreme. Without restraint in any form he was made the sole possessor of all the powers concentrated in a president, vice-president, secretary-treasurer and executive board. In his election as president all other officers were considered superfluous and beyond use. Five cents per month was paid to the president and no questions asked about the amount received or expended. He was the sole possessor of all he surveyed in their interest, presided over all conferences with himself, and any violation of wrong doing or exposition of acts done could be readily traced. Jones was the man of the hour, his word was law with the mine workers around the busy city of the iron industries, and wherever he led the miners followed. He set aside all advisory boards outside of his own constitutional makeup with a consolation that whatever he determined upon there could be no appeal.

With a restoration of increased trade in the coal industry, the coal miners throughout Ohio began to agitate for advanced mining rates.

The Tuscarawas valley miners secured an advance of 10 cents per ton in October, and the Hocking valley miners, in the month of November, 1879, demanded three advances, that were conceded during the month. In the latter district it was the custom to watch closely the action of the thermometer, and no matter how often it pointed downward an advance was asked for every time the thermometer demonstrated its

increased severity. In July, 1879, 50 cents per ton was being paid for pick mined coal, passing over a one and one-fourth inch screen between the bars; from October 1 to November 4, 60 cents; from November 4 to November 10, 75 cents, and from November 10 to November 22, inclusive, the thermometer having lowered itself in the estimation of the miners sufficiently to warrant a change for which they asked, and were granted, \$1 per ton for screened coal mined with the pick.

Some of the operators in the valley of New Straitsville refused to pay the price, but W. P. Rend, always on the alert for top market prices, paid \$1 per ton for twelve days. During the two weeks' boom the Rend mine not only worked every day of nine hours, but on several occasions when the day's work was over and a recess had been taken the mine resumed work until midnight and the idle miners of the town were given their share of the extra work done. At the expiration of the \$1 per ton mining, 80 cents per ton was the rate paid until March 1, 1880. While there was a change in the miners that were employed at night at the Rend mine, from those that had been working during the day, the checkweighman employed by them was permitted to return after supper, but without any extras for duty performed.

On the question of checkweighman in the Hocking valley, it would seem proper at this time to relate an incident, since the miners had not been allowed the privilege of employing them in the valley but a short time. When Colonel W. P. Rend purchased the New Straitsville, Ohio, mine from the Patterson Coal Company there was no checkweighman at any of the mines in the Hocking valley district. The mine workers throughout the district were noted for their readiness to strike, having proved by experience that it was the only weapon that could be used effectually to redress the many wrongs upon which they were called to check before they were in full bloom.

One of the most glaring in the list of their contentions was the privilege of employing checkweighmen at the mines. Struggles, too numerous to mention, were engaged in to enforce what was considered law, in which miners were supposed to have the right to place them at any mine the miners wanted them, and were willing to pay for services rendered.

While a cessation of work had, many times, brought about satisfactory results, their contentions for checkweighmen had always failed.

When Colonel W. P. Rend entered the field he proposed as an operator of mines that a checkweighman be placed at all the mines in the valley. At the mine he purchased there was the best of satisfaction among the miners there that they were receiving just weight for all coal mined, but there was a general belief that at other mines unjust practices were being indulged in. The proposition to elect checkweighmen at the mines coming from a coal operator, and the uncomplimentary report in circulation of unjust practices at mines he owned in other States, created a suspicious feeling that there was something wrong, or Colonel Rend would not make such a proposition to the miners in the Hocking valley.

The question now in all its gravity took possession of the stage because of its significance and relative importance to the mine workers in general. In the discussions that followed on the street corners and at the mines the evil eye of suspicion came prominently to the front and condemnation reigned supreme in the absence of the method by which the problem could be solved. Supporters of the proposition argued, with considerable force of reason, that many attempts had been made to place checkweighmen at the mines, but their efforts had always failed and they could see no just reason to reject the offer, no matter from what source the proposition came that would establish the much sought for reform.

In the final solution a mass meeting of miners elected delegates to canvass the district with instructions to advise that checkweighmen be placed at all mines within the scope of district rule. On the return home of the delegates chosen checkweighmen had been elected at the Rend mine, as well as the other mines in New Straitsville, and others followed a few days later throughout the district in line with the conclusions reached.

For several days the principal discussion was the checkweighmen at the mines. The checkweighmen as such had now become interested in each other, and often met together for the purpose of exchanging views as to what the difference was,

if any, in the weighing of coal at the mine where each was employed. At the W. P. Rend mine no change was reported, but at one of the other mines some doubts were expressed by the man in charge that something was wrong with the scales, but that he was not yet ready to make a report satisfactory to himself. A few more days' careful watching, however, convinced him that the scale at his mine had been tampered with to the extent that the miners were receiving 600 pounds less on each 3,600-pound car weighed than they would be entitled to if the scales were properly adjusted.

This state of affairs created quite a furor in the mining camps and the feeling displayed forced a remedy forthwith. With this discovery the business proposition of Mr. Rend was made very clear. The company in question had been selling coal in the Chicago market at lower rates than Rend could possibly meet, and he concluded that something was radically wrong in the deal. It was said of him that if he could get his coal mined at the same cost as his competitors, the question of getting into the market with them never gave him any concern. The miners at the mine Rend purchased were well organized and had no cause for complaint about the weight they received, hence it would have been rather difficult to make any radical change that had a tendency to reduce wages without the evils that generally follow a bitter conflict.

Our object in writing this follows a desire to do justice to all concerned, and for this reason we feel no hesitancy in saying that W. P. Rend, the coal operator, was instrumental and entitled to the credit of bringing about the election of checkweighmen at the mines in the Hocking valley coal field.

With the revival of trade the desire to share in its tendencies for improved conditions intensified the feeling towards a more solidified form of unity than was possible through sectional action. The active workers in the Tuscarawas valley coal field of Ohio, including John McBride, Bennett Brown and William A. Davis, together with other miners in the southern part of the State, began to agitate for a more compact union of miners.

The much-desired objects sought at the Mansfield convention of Ohio miners had evidently proved ineffective as indi-

cated, but the leading miners of the State, still undaunted, were anxious to make another effort to recuperate. In this, however, they were not very successful until later on.

There was a rumor current that a general convention was to be held at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, March 17, 1880, which gave some hope to Ohio miners that the meeting referred to would take some action that the general situation warranted, and delegates were elected accordingly.

At the time stated a convention was held at Pittsburg, but very few delegates were present. In the discussions entered into it soon became evident that grievances were many and similar in character in the States represented. The accumulated troubles in their various forms as presented by the delegates included the pluck-me system, checkweighmen at the mines, the eight-hour workday, and the abolition of screens. These questions were discussed with great force during the proceedings, and resolutions passed to put them into effect August 1, 1880.

The thought of a removal of these grievances created a spirit of confidence, and the delegates present, imbued with this feeling, left the convention with the best of hope that the conclusions reached would be put into effect, but when the time came for their enforcement no general action was taken.

In the Tuscarawas valley of Ohio a struggle was entered into that continued for several months, but their single efforts proved unavailing and through lack of support their well-fought battle ended in defeat.

Hocking valley miners' organizations in the early eighties were productive of much good to organized labor everywhere. Their progressive work locally many times acted as a stimulant in other parts of Ohio, as well as in other States. New Straitsville, Shawnee and Nelsonville miners under the name of valley delegations held their weekly meetings and all were kept pretty well informed through the valley secretaries of any changes made or proposed. Unwholesome action on the part of either operators or miners was soon made manifest to all, weak places pointed out, and a general move made to check the evil in its infant form. It is hardly possible to overestimate the valuable work done by these local unions at a time when neither national nor State unions existed.

The much patronized company store, with all its evil effects, both to the miner that possessed an independent turn of mind to use wages earned as he thought best, as well as to the employer that paid cash for all labor performed, was a standing menace at all times. The exorbitant prices charged for provisions in the company store, under the operators' control, gave him an advantage of 20 to 30 per cent over the operator that paid cash. This almost unmovable evil often caused trouble very difficult to overcome.

On January 12, 1880, a letter was written to the *National Labor Tribune* of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, commenting on a call to be made for a restriction and nut coal convention, together with a consideration of the pluck-me system, and the discharge of some forty miners the week previous, principally young men working at the Consolidated Coal Company's mine at New Straitsville, Ohio, because of their refusal to leave more of their earnings with the company store. After a strike of one month the discharged miners were allowed to resume work.

The Longstreth Coal Company, with Thomas Berry as superintendent, was many times brought to the front of Hocking valley contests. On September 21, 1880, this company posted notices as follows:

Now, Whereas, I am doing a lawful and just business; and whereas large numbers of miners formed into riotous mobs for unlawful purposes have recently visited my mines where day labor has been employed, and intimidated by threats of violence and otherwise said day laborers, causing them to leave their work. Now, therefore, I hereby give notice to all miners and the general public that if such bodies of rioters make their appearance on or near my premises again it shall be distinctly understood by me and my employes, and upon our property, hence all such are hereby warned that they must accept the consequences of such or other unlawful procedure. And further, no committees of one or more persons will be allowed to make the *so-called friendly visits* upon my premises.

T. LONGSTRETH.

The coal company referred to was generally in the lead to reduce wages and impose unusual conditions on day laborers that frequently caused agitation because of its tendency to

spread the evils throughout the district, hence more than ordinary picket duty was necessary to keep day wages and other conditions in line at their mines.

In the spring of the year 1881 the Hocking valley miners were notified that a reduction of 10 cents per ton from the winter rates would be made, making pick mining prices 70 cents per ton, which was the cause for a semiannual strike of one month's duration. A few days before the month closed a mass meeting was held at New Straitsville, and by a vote of all present the strike was declared off and work resumed at the reduced rate, but with much feeling displayed by the miners of the different sections of the district. Straitsville and Shawnee miners took a very active part, and the Carbon Hill delegates were very much chagrined over the conclusions reached.

The eight-hour agitation and the placing of the Lechner mining machine in the Central mine at Straitsville, in the year 1876, were often made the ground work in after years for contention, and, like the changes made in summer and winter prices, often caused a cessation of work.

In the early part of the year 1882 the question of organizing a State union in Ohio was being very much discussed throughout the entire State. Letters appeared in the *National Labor Tribune* of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, advocating closer unity of purpose and the election of officers to canvass the the State.

The *National Labor Tribune* at this time was considered among the most loyal of all labor papers published. With Thomas A. Armstrong as editor and publisher, his friends among the workers were legion. His devotion to their well-being was marked for its sincerity, frankness and desire to place labor on a higher plane. The one paper above all others, in the estimation of the mine workers of Ohio, that would listen to their wrongs and publish their rights was the *Tribune*. Through this medium a call was issued to the mine workers of Ohio that a convention would be held at Columbus, Ohio, April 18, 1882, for the purpose of organizing a State union. In response to this call delegates were present from nearly all counties in the State where coal was being mined. The

convention was a remarkable success in point of numbers and the business transacted. The delegates manifested great joy at the thought that so many had been able to come together, all ready to act as a unit in the formation of a State union under the name, Ohio Miners' Amalgamated Association.

CHAPTER X.

PREAMBLE, CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF THE OHIO MINERS' AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION.

Adopted at Columbus, Ohio, April 18-19, 1882.

PREAMBLE.

For some years many of the most thoughtful minds among the miners of the State watched gradual but sure approach of demoralization in the mining interests of the State, and with deep regret witnessed the utter indifference manifested by the miners of one district for the well being of those of another. It became evident that some step should be taken to check the evils that were fast accruing from insane competition, the heavy foot of which always rests upon the wages of the producer. It was found that the lines of connection between the different mining districts of the State that were bound to be recognized or the utter ruin of the mining interests of the State would result, and complete degradation and misery of the miners would follow. That which is most dear, and is the shield and compass to the miner in the pursuit of his dangerous calling (the standard of workmanship), was fast being lowered to an irredeemable depth.

Each district continually misunderstood the motives of the other, and as a result we were continually confronted with strikes and other troubles without number, proving a constant source of dissatisfaction and contention.

Local unions were found insufficient to preserve the interest of the mining trade in a healthful condition, as oftentimes one district had been advanced to the injury of another, and those well organized were unable to receive recognition to their claims from the fact that those unorganized were held as a weapon to defeat them.

It was evident that a means of communication should be established between the different mining fields of the State, a burden of statistics, as a channel through which the remotest parts could communicate and be drawn together as one, but in the bitter school of experience the impracticability of old

worn-out ideas of organization had been taught, and the necessity of something in pace with the times was felt.

The plan adopted was the one upon which the Ohio Miners' Amalgamated Association is founded, the merit of which speaks for itself.

CONSTITUTION.

Name.

This association shall be known as the Ohio Miners' Amalgamated Association.

Jurisdiction.

This association shall include all the miners in the State of Ohio, to be identified with the district in which they are located.

Objects.

The objects of this association shall be :

1. To set forth and promote a system of organization that will enable the miners of each mine in the State to systematize the management of their affairs in or about or relating to the mine as connected with their interests.

2. To enable the miners of the different mines in each district to act in conjunction with each other in all matters of general interest, such as questions of price, standard and contingent, and the preservation of rules, regulations and principles necessary to the healthful condition of the trade, and the general safety and welfare of the miners of the district.

3. To secure the co-operation of the miners of the different districts, in the management of the mining affairs of the State, having in view the advancement of the whole, in the establishing of a bureau of statistics of all matters of interest and connected with mining, embracing every mine in the State, and which will serve as an invaluable source of information in the promotion of the general mining interests of the State, and enable the association to act with the other associations of the Amalgamated Association of the United States in protecting the general interests of our dangerous calling.

4. To render all assistance in aiding the successful operation of the laws relating to mines and mining, so as to enable those for whose benefit the laws were enacted to receive the protection of the same, to their health and safety and general well being, and aid in securing legislation that from time to time may be deemed necessary by the miners of the State.

Condition of Membership.

All miners at the mines in this State shall be considered members of the Ohio Miners' Amalgamated Association until they remove out of the State.

Recommendation Cards.

The general secretary shall furnish recommendation cards to each local secretary. Every member who contemplates leaving to go to another mine in the same district, or into another district in the State, must be provided with a recommendation card signed by the president and secretary of the mine from which he came, to prove his good standing. Recommendation cards shall be furnished members moving to any place in or out of the State, if no dues or assessments appear against them on the books of the mine secretary. A clear card shall be bona fide evidence of honest membership.

Headquarters.

The headquarters of this association shall be in the city of Massillon.

General Officers.

The general officers of this association shall be as follows: One general president, one vice-president, a general treasurer, a general secretary, and three trustees elected for the State. The term of the general officers of this association shall be for one year and until the election again takes place.

Executive Board.

There shall be an executive board composed always of as many members as there are districts in the State. Each district shall be entitled to a member on the board in the person of the president of the district.

Duties of Officers.

The duties of the officers shall be defined by the laws of the association.

Duties of the President.

The president shall preside at all general delegate meetings, he shall cut off all irrelevant debate, and shall endeavor to keep the convention to close business. He shall devote his time and attention to the affairs of the association, in promoting the general mining interests of the State and harmonizing the organization of the different mines to the general principles of the associations, and when called upon shall

attend local and mass-meetings, and do such other business, not conflicting with the laws of the association, as to him may seem for the good of the miners of the State. He shall sign all warrants drawn on the treasurer, also all circulars identified with the executive department of the association, and in case of a meeting of the executive board he shall bring such matters before them for their consideration as may be deemed for the good of the association and the miners of the State.

Vice-President.

In case of a vacancy in the office of president, otherwise than by expiration of the term of the office of the president, the vice-president may be called upon by the general secretary to perform the duties of the president until one is elected.

The vice-president shall at all times while performing the duties of president, receive the salary of the president's office.

General Secretary.

The general secretary shall record all general proceedings of this association. He shall assist the trustees in the preparation of any reports they may find it necessary to make. He shall receive all moneys, dues and general levies of the association, and receipt for the same. He shall have charge of the general correspondence and business of the association. He shall furnish the local secretaries with blanks upon which to report monthly all matters of general interest relating to their respective mines, and shall gather all statistics from the different mines in the State useful to a proper knowledge of the mining affairs of the State.

He shall keep on file all matters of general interest, and shall compile all reports and statistical information gathered by him, and arrange the same in the manner by him deemed best, to be a thorough, competent and convenient record of matters pertaining to mines and mining in this State.

He shall keep all local secretaries supplied with the necessary documents of the association and shall direct the facilities for communication between the different districts and mines of the State, through the channels of the association, in the most advantageous and direct manner, for the benefit of the association and the miners of the State. He shall furnish all reports of the association giving the financial condition of affairs in the different mining localities of the State, and other information relating to legislative matters of interest to the members, and the general progress of the association throughout the State. He shall keep on file the names and addresses of all the officials of the association, together with their re-

spective official positions, and shall keep his office in direct communication with the same, and in this way shall render all assistance to the local officials. He shall draw and sign all warrants on the general treasurer. He shall design and furnish all local secretaries with recommendation cards for members leaving mines in good standing.

General Treasurer.

The general treasurer shall receive all moneys from the general secretary, and give a receipt for each payment.

He shall cash all warrants signed by the general president and general secretary. The warrants shall be his vouchers in the settlement of his accounts.

He shall pay out moneys only by warrant of the president and secretary. He shall surrender all vouchers, books and papers pertaining to the business of this association in his possession to his successor, or, in case of his resignation, to the president.

Executive Board.

The executive board shall settle all disputes between the general officers and members, and between the general officers themselves.

The board shall be convened by notice of the general president, and shall take under their consideration all matters brought before them and adjust all questions to the best interest of the association and the miners of the State. The board in the absence of a State convention shall have authority to transact business pertaining to the interest of the miners of the State but always subject to the approval or disapproval of the miners of the State.

The membership composing the executive board, and thus becoming general officers of the association, must be presidents of their respective districts, and hereafter elected by a popular vote.

Trustees.

The trustees of this association shall examine into and settle all disputes arising in the association relative to accounts, by investigation, through auditing the accounts of the association.

Vacancies.

Should the office of general secretary become vacant, otherwise than by expiration of the term of that office, the president shall take charge of the office of the secretary, and call upon the vice-president to perform the duties of president.

Should the condition of affairs of the association justify the employment of any of the State or district officers or members of the association, the general president and general secretary shall have power to do so.

If the office of treasurer should become vacant, the president shall take charge of the books, papers and other property pertaining to the office of treasurer, and perform the duties of that office until the trustees can be summoned to meet and elect a treasurer pro tem.

State Calls.

Should any trouble arise in any district whereby the general interests of the miners of the State shall be endangered, the secretary of the mine wherein the trouble occurs shall immediately notify the general secretary, and also the president of said district, who shall send a statement of said trouble or grievance, together with such suggestions as he may deem necessary to the general president, and he shall likewise send to each of the different district presidents, and if they, in their opinion, think that a convention of the miners of the State is necessary, the general president shall call said convention.

Salaries of General Officers.

The salary of the general president shall be seventy-five dollars (\$75.00) per month and expenses.

The salary of the general secretary shall be sixty-five dollars (\$65.00) per month and expenses.

Dues.

To pay for all traveling expenses, stamps, stationery and other expenses, and the services of the general officers in carrying on the work of the association, each member shall pay 5 cents per each calendar month.

Suffrage.

The votes of representatives in State convention assembled shall be according to the number of miners represented by them.

John McBride was elected State president and John H. Williams secretary.

The financial condition of the Ohio miners was not very strong, and the pay days of President McBride were often extended beyond the time the constitution called for. He plodded along, however, through the State and succeeded better by far than the most sanguine friends expected. The mission

he had undertaken to perform in the duties assigned him as president of the miners' State organization, and the manner in which he conducted the work, was commented upon with great admiration and respect.

A few months after the State union had been organized a circular call was issued, signed by John McBride, president, and John H. Williams, secretary, for a second State convention to be held at Columbus, Ohio, October 25, 1882, in which the following questions were submitted for the delegates to consider and act upon:

1. The adoption of a scale of prices to regulate the price of mining throughout the entire State, based upon the price of coal by the flat in the Cleveland and Toledo markets, or upon puddled iron.
2. Organized suspensions at stated intervals.
3. To perfect State and mine organizations.
4. The prohibition of screens and receipt of pay for saleable coal.

While these propositions were not made as effective at the time as desired, the effort made served to stimulate action later on for improved mining conditions all around. Another feature of the State convention was the election of a legislative committee with the object of trying to bring about a semi-monthly pay law, the enactment of which would make it unlawful to issue script check, etc., in lieu of cash for work done, and the adoption of a law that would give the miners pay for all coal mined before going over the screen, together with such other legislation best calculated to improve the conditions of workingmen throughout the entire State.

A little later the Hocking valley was again made the center of attraction through a circular issued by the State officers as follows:

Fellow Workmen: Since the mining machines were first introduced in the mines of District No. 1 there has been considerable trouble and dissatisfaction among the miners who followed the machines, owing to the prices paid to the pick miner and the machine miner being proportionately so very unequal. This finally culminated in the miners of the Central mine at New Straitsville on December 1, 1882, demanding an advance of 12 cents per ton for machine-mined coal, which would give them 60 cents, to the pick miners' 80 cents, and be

the means of placing their earnings nearly on an equal basis. The miners of the valley in which the mine is located have endorsed the action of the Central miners and have decided to support them by contributions, as they are part of the organization, and have been strict in their compliance with its requirements, and are now in need of assistance, having worked but little in the past year. We beseech you to assist them in preventing the introduction of low grade wages to accompany the introduction of these machines by contributing your mite at once. Do not neglect this, for these men are practical miners and in this case your interests are at stake as well.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN MCBRIDE, President,

JOHN H. WILLIAMS, Secretary.

Ohio Miners Association.

Incidents of this nature frequently occurred in Hocking valley territory, sometimes accompanied with a cessation of work for a few days, at other times for weeks, and occasionally mines would be idle for longer periods. About this time it was a difficult matter to get the day hands to join the organization, but after the syndicate entered the arena with several mines under its control Hocking valley day laborers were soon made to realize the difference between organized miners and unorganized day labor. The first effort of the syndicate to reduce the cost of producing coal was in the line of a general reduction in the wages of day labor, and well-conceived plans were advanced by syndicate officials to hoodwink miners under the plea that it was not their intention to reduce mining prices. This move on the part of consolidated Hocking valley operators, however, only tended to stimulate miners to be more active and proved to them the necessity of concentrated action on their part.

The reduction made in day wages served as an incentive and had the desired effect. The drivers at the Carbon Hill mines entered the roll of organized workers. Early in the year 1883, in order to try to meet the syndicate operators' consolidated form of organization, the syndicate miners organized and acted together under the following rules:

Resolved, That whenever any mine or mines in this district shall have any grievances with their employers, it shall

be their duty to settle it if possible; but should they fail to do so, it shall be the duty of said mine or mines to notify their valley delegation, and should the valley delegation fail to bring about a satisfactory settlement, the secretary of said delegation shall notify the district secretary of the grievance in full, then the district secretary shall notify each valley secretary of the fact, and should there be more than one mine under the control of that company the said mine shall cease to work until the said grievances are settled and they are duly notified of the fact, and should any mine in the district knowingly load any coal for said company during said trouble, they shall cease to load coal for that company at once until the notification of the settlement be given by the secretary of said valley through the district secretary.

Resolved, That we admit the drivers into our organization with the understanding that they be subject to taxation the same as the miners.

Resolutions were adopted at the meeting making \$2.25 per day the uniform price for drivers throughout the district when mining prices were 70 cents per ton, no free turns, no coal hauled by contract, 10 cents per barrel for water when bailed by the miner, and nine hours to constitute the day's work.

CHRIS EVANS, President,
JOSEPH DEVAULT, Secretary.

The Hocking valley field, under the Ohio Miners' Amalgamated Association, was known as District No. 1.

In the year 1883 the Ohio miners' organization contributed largely towards improved legislation for the mining interest. Through the aid of Chief Mine Inspector Andrew Roy and State Labor Commissioner Henry Luskey, the miners' committee on legislation were able to bring about the introduction and passage of bills in the House on surveying and mapping of abandoned mines, "A lien bill giving miners preferred claims for wages due," together with other mining bills that the following year were passed by both Houses and afterwards made into law. It was this same legislative body that passed a House joint resolution for the appointment by the Governor of a commission of three competent persons to visit the various mines in the State and investigate the abuses of the system of screening coal so much complained of at that time. A bill to regulate screens was introduced, but owing to the joint

resolution above referred to was set aside until the investigating committee were able to make their report.

When making their report to the miners' State convention in May, 1883, on the bill, the legislative committee made the following comments:

The only objections we had to this bill was that it delayed legislation on this question until next winter; but being convinced that no bill would pass while this bill was pending, and also being satisfied that the more thorough and complete the investigation the stronger our claims would appear, we asked that the bill be amended so that one of the commission would be a miner, and further that the commission should investigate the "truck system." The request of your committee was complied with, and the bill so amended.

CHRIS EVANS,
GEORGE M. STEWART,
H. D. MERRIMAN,
THOMAS W. PRICE,
AUSTIN KING, JR.,
Committee.

At the time of which we are now writing there was a difference of 15 cents per ton paid in the Hocking valley mining prices less than was paid in the Tuscarawas valley or Massillon district, the latter paying 95 cents and the former 80 cents per ton.

The following notice for a change will show that the Hocking valley was made the basing point to which the many darts were pointed:

We, the operators of coal mines in the Tuscarawas valley, make the miners of Tuscarawas valley the following proposition, to-wit: Mining to be reduced February 1, 1883, from 95 cents to 85 cents per ton.

That there shall be no further reduction in the price of mining in the Tuscarawas valley until the price of mining coal in the Hocking valley is reduced below 70 cents, then mining in this valley to follow the said reduction, maintaining the present difference of 15 cents per ton until such time as the miners and operators may agree to arbitrate the said difference of 15 cents per ton.

On January 23, 1883, the State officers issued a call for a delegate meeting to be held at Clinton, Ohio, to consider the proposition.

In the monthly report sent out by the State officers for February the following appears: "Third District. In this district the price of mining is 85 cents per ton. Some trouble was imminent here some time back in regard to the price of mining, some of the operators deeming themselves as paying 10 or 15 cents per ton more proportionately than other districts in the State, and the outcome of a meeting held in Cleveland recently was a request that the miners' committee meet their committee in the city of Massillon. They were answered from the general office, the latter informing them that under the provisions of the agreement made in January last, wherein it is specified "that the price of mining in the Tuscarawas valley shall go no lower than 85 cents per ton, unless the price in the Hocking district goes lower than 70 cents, maintaining the difference of 15 cents per ton, until such time as the operators and miners may agree to arbitrate the said difference."

The operators' committee reported to their meeting in Cleveland on the 10th inst., where numerous suggestions were offered but nothing definite was arrived at, and the meeting adjourned without setting any time for another meeting.

From the report made it will be seen that the reduction was not enforced at that time, but later on the operators accomplished their purpose and the reduction went into effect.

At the Ohio miners' State convention held on May 1, 1883, John H. Williams, the state secretary of the miners' union, was recommended to Governor Foster for the appointment as clerk of the commission appointed to inquire into the system of screening coal and the operation and results of the law to prevent the payment of wages in script, and the Governor made the appointment in accordance with the recommendation made.

The convention also elected delegates to attend an interstate convention to be held in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, May 15, 1883.

CHAPTER XI.

MINERS CONVENTION HELD AT PITTSBURG,
PENNSYLVANIA, MAY 15, 1883.

The convention opened according to call at 10 o'clock a. m., with John McBride of the Ohio Miners' Association as president, Joseph Schaming of the Western Pennsylvania Association and Albert Coop of Illinois vice-presidents. John E. Williams, secretary of the Ohio Miners' Association, and P. A. Crow of Maryland acted as secretaries.

Albert Coop of Illinois, P. A. Crow of Maryland, Chris Evans of Ohio and John Costello of Pennsylvania, the credential committee, reported delegates entitled to seats in the convention as follows:

For Ohio Miners' Association—John McBride, John H. Williams, R. B. Hanna, Massillon; John Davis, Bellaire; Chris Evans, Carbon Hill; Cornelius Cain, Rendville; T. T. O'Malley, Salineville, K. of L.

Pennsylvania.—Jeremiah Smith, Mansfield Valley; Enoch Rowley, Monongahela City; H. J. Byrne, Scottdale; Arthur Cregan, Wilkinsburgh; George Harris, Reynoldsville; Thomas Rookin, Live Oak; Godfried Wolsberger, Tomer P. O.; Lewis Renner, Monongahela City; Herman Rossberg, Courtney; T. J. Atkinson, Banksville; Theoph. Hartson, Elijah Wooley, Ebenezer Oliver, and James Brown, Mansfield Valley; Joseph Trainer, Carrick P. O.; John Gibson, Turtle Creek; Hugh Hopper, John Mathewson, Leon Davis, Fayette City; John Riley, White Ash; David Duncan, Daniel Brown, Banksville; Thomas Brenner, Jacob Shade, Negley's P. O.; Henry Nailor, Coal Bluff; John H. Dunlap, McKeesport; M. F. Conway, Homestead P. O.; John Woods, Woods Run; E. A. James, Jr., Reynoldsville; John Simmons, Turtle Creek; W. F. Barkley, Mt. Pleasant; George Hunter, Hope Church P. O.; Richard Davis, Du Bois; Samuel Morgan, Grove City; Walter Swisher, Hope Church P. O.; Joseph Hall, Woodsville; John Flannery, John Costello, Pittsburg; John M. Hogue, St. Clair.

Maryland—P. A. Crow, Lonaconing.

Illinois.—Albert Coop, Braidwood; Alexander McDonald of the Miners' Protective Association of Illinois.

Several prominent men in the labor movement were present and addressed the convention at length in complimentary terms for the success of the miners' movement for interstate

work, including John Jarrett, president of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers; Robert D. Layton and A. C. Rankin of the Knights of Labor; Mr. Campbell of the Telegraph Operators, ex-President D. R. Jones of the Pittsburgh miners, Miles McPadden and Thomas A. Armstrong of the *National Labor Tribune*. ✓

The committee on organization reported as follows:

“Whereas, The condition of the miners and laborers of this country shows the urgent and immediate necessity of organization, not only in the different localities, but of the different States and Territories; and,

“Whereas, Past experience has shown the failures of the different organizations among miners, through causes too numerous to mention, in order to avoid failure in the future we must avoid all complicated technicalities, and establish an organization as simple in its laws and form as possible, and at the same time recognize that fundamental principle that an injury to one district, locality or State shall be the concern of all; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the delegates of the miners of the different States represented at this Interstate convention, believe and know it is high time the miners of the United States should endeavor to organize themselves into one organization, recognizing the different organizations in the various localities and without interfering with their present form or ways of working, call upon them to work with us for the good of all in endeavoring to establish organization where none at present exists. Be it

“Resolved, That this organization shall be known as the Amalgamated Association of Miners of the United States.

“The objects of this association shall be:

“1st—To bring within its folds every miner and laborer in and about the mines in the United States.

“2d—To secure uniformity of action in matters pertaining to the interests of its members.

“3d—To shorten the hours of labor as far as practicable.

“4th—To restrict the product when deemed practicable.

“5th—The officers of this association shall consist of an executive board, to be composed of the presidents of the different States; said board to select their own president and secretary, and to meet at least once in six months, or as often as necessary to discuss the condition of affairs in the different localities, and whenever it is deemed necessary to take action on any question regarding the advancement of the

whole, it shall be submitted to their constituents for the purpose of deciding whether or not such action shall be taken.

"ALBERT COOP,
"P. A. CROW,
"T. T. O'MALLEY,
"DANIEL BROWN,
"JOSEPH HALL,
"Committee."

The constitution adopted reads as follows:

"1st—The duties of the executive board shall be to immediately inquire into any trouble that may arise in any locality, and ascertain the cause of the trouble and its effect on the whole, and be governed accordingly.

"2d—They shall also keep themselves acquainted with the condition of the different coal markets, and when the same will warrant it they shall take such action as will tend to advance the interests of all.

"3d—The executive board shall promote organization only according to the power vested in them.

"4th—There shall be a 5-cent levy issued immediately to defray the expense of printing the proceedings of this convention, the balance to be used by the executive board, after which all levies shall be made with the consent of the miners according to the rule governing actions of the executive board.

"5th—That there shall be a treasurer for the purpose of securing said levy, and that we recommend the name of Thomas A. Armstrong of the *National Labor Tribune* as treasurer, and that he acknowledge through the *Tribune* all sums received, and that he be remunerated for his services."

Government of Executive Board.

"Resolved, That we recommend to the miners of the different States that they confer the power upon the executive board to appoint organizers from time to time to visit the different localities where no organization exists for the purpose of establishing an organization in their midst, provided there are sufficient funds in the treasury to defray the expense of said organizer.

"2d—The executive board shall have power to draw orders on the general treasurer for the payment of expenses incurred by the members of the board in attending its sessions and printing proceedings, etc.

"3d—They shall have power to draw orders on the general treasurer for the payment of expenses incurred by organizers appointed by them.

"4th—They shall have no further power to draw orders, except by the consent of their constituents."

Duties of General Treasurer.

"1st—The funds in the hands of the general treasurer shall be subject only to the order of the executive board.

"2d—The treasurer shall receive one-half of 1 per cent on money received for his services.

"3d—That the bonds of the treasurer be \$2,000 and shall be held by the executive board, and in case of resignation they shall appoint to fill the vacancy.

"R. B. HANNA,
"JOHN COSTELLO,
"RICHARD DAVIS,
"T. J. ATKINSON,
"JOHN DAVIS,
"Constitution Committee."

On the railroad miners strike the convention adopted a preamble and resolution as follows:

Whereas, The railroad miners of the western Pennsylvania district are now on strike, resisting a reduction of $\frac{1}{2}$ cent per bushel, which is unjust and uncalled for; be it

Resolved, That we, the representatives of the miners of the United States, in convention assembled, hereby extend our sympathy to the railroad miners of western Pennsylvania, and promise them our support in every way possible.

It was also resolved to make the *National Labor Tribune* the official organ of the national organization.

The convention was in session three days, and its line of action was based on the lucid manner in which each delegate expressed the desire of his constituents for a more thorough organization of the coal mining industry.

The plans were well laid, but the results lacked the expectations desired.

After the convention adjourned the executive board organized, and elected Alexander McDonald of the Illinois State association president of the national executive board, and P. A. Crow of Maryland secretary. Arrangements were made for their first regular meeting to be held August 1, 1883.

Alexander McDonald, who was elected president of the board, was elected president of the Miners' Protective Associa-

tion of Illinois at a convention held June 16, 1881, and J. C. Heenan was elected secretary, but the organized miners of the State were few in number for several years, confined principally to the northern portion of the State. P. A. Crow, the secretary of the executive board, was an active worker in the Maryland field and rendered valuable service to the miners of that State when volunteers were few and far between. Secrecy was the Maryland miners' stronghold. Thomas A. Armstrong, the treasurer, was the editor of the *National Labor Tribune*, with a soul full of love for the toiler of every clime.

CHAPTER XII.

THE OHIO HOCKING VALLEY STRIKE.

The year 1884 was a remarkable one for the Hocking Valley district. It was the year in which the great Hocking valley strike was inaugurated, the cause of which has many times been misconstrued. The Columbus and Hocking Valley Coal and Iron Company, better known as the Hocking Valley Syndicate, with Mr. William Job as superintendent for a number of mines, enforced a contest upon the Hocking valley miners whose characteristics for waging battle against uncalled for reductions ought to have been better understood. It was true that much suffering prevailed among the miners before the struggle was entered into, owing to a preparatory lack of work at the syndicate mines, that caused miners to accompany their wives to the company stores and demand flour, but it was also true that this very act raised the miners' combative qualities to a higher pitch, a feeling fully demonstrated in the demand made for food before the strike was entered into.

While it is doubtless true that the poor condition the miners and their families were in was used as an incentive to reduce wages at that time it was a mistaken idea to overlook their much cherished regard to sustain what they believed was right at any cost.

The reduction proposed by the syndicate and the Ohio Coal

Exchange, the two strongest companies in the district, was made at a time when mining prices all over the state of Ohio remained unchanged. Either through misrepresentation or misguided sentiment, the operators had failed to realize the Hocking miners' power of resistance and their willingness to combat reduced wages at any time, much less to act as leaders in the enforcement of lesser rates throughout the entire State. At Corning, a few miles distant, no reduction was proposed. One mine in the heart of the Hocking district made no effort to reduce prices and never failed to pay the prevailing rate throughout the entire contest.

Munitions for war were very scarce and finances were very low. National organization among the miners was an unknown quantity and had been for several years. The Ohio Miners' Association was young, too, but while Hocking valley miners' finances were light and weak their faith in organization was strong, the challenge accepted and the struggle began.

In the early part of the strike a great deal of correspondence was indulged in through the public press. Operators and miners alike had corresponding representatives that drew pictures of rather unique appearance at times, and the leading newspapers of several States sent men to the seat of war to write up the scenes and desperadoes engaged.

In the published statements made much was said about the arbitrary manner of the miners and their objectionable attitude towards the syndicate. That there was sometimes cause for statements of this character there was very little room for doubt, because of the many efforts made by the company to reduce mining rates. The good and the bad after the consolidation made it a rather unwieldy crowd and the best of order was too often overlooked, even among coal operators.

As a conciliatory measure, however, on May 9, 1884, a few weeks before the main battle was fought, a joint meeting was held at New Straitsville to consider the making of an agreement for the furnace mines to continue work during troubles at the commercial mines. An agreement was entered into making provision that, pending disputes, the furnace mines should work, paying the same rate of wages per ton and per yard as was paid in the commercial mines, that all other rules

regulating prices throughout the district should be rigidly observed. Failing in this all furnace mines could be stopped by the miners after one week's notice. The contract contained other features of protection to both parties and was signed on the part of the operators by John R. Buchtel, and for the miners by Chris Evans, Alexander Johnson, Patrick Holeran, John Hardesty and William E. Evans.

The terms upon which the joint agreement was made on the furnace question was the groundwork for a partial understanding between operators of the syndicate mines and their employes, but it was soon made evident that this stepping stone towards peace had been well planned to remove as far as possible all impending dangers to the general issue.

The urgent request made for a reduction from 70 cents to 60 cents per ton was the leading topic at the operators' meetings, and many were the methods indulged in to bring it about.

At the time the furnace question was being considered the following letter addressed to the syndicate explains one method by which this company intended to bring the miners into subjection a few weeks before the strike began:

New Straitsville, Ohio, May 9, 1884.

To the Columbus and Hocking Coal and Iron Company:

Gentlemen—Whereas, the complaint is almost general among your employes owing to the fact that you have been giving contracts to outside mines that should, in our judgment, have been equally divided among your own miners; and

Whereas, we believe that some action should be taken by you in order to avoid any trouble from this source in the future. We respectfully ask you to give this question your earliest consideration in order to subside the present unpleasant feeling that exists among the miners under your employ. In many instances the miners of other mines not under your employ are filling your contracts and working almost full time, while your own employes are in many instances unable to procure the common necessities of life. This, in our judgment, is wrong and should not be tolerated any longer, and in order to create a better feeling between us and our employers we would also urge upon you the necessity of equalizing the work, so that both operator and miner may be enabled to carry out, not only by words, but in deeds, the true spirit and mani-

festation of the relations that the coal operator and miner bear toward each other.

CHRISTOPHER EVANS,
ALEXANDER JOHNSON,
PATRICK HOLERAN,
WILLIAM E. EVANS,
JOHN HARDESTY,
Committee.

Interviews and newspaper correspondents on both sides were actively engaged in presenting their respective sides of the question in the most plausible way, and no time was lost in trying to prepare for the crisis that seemed sure to come. At one of the operators' meetings urgent requests were made for the miners to hold meetings and accept the reduction proposed, or, as the operators put it, "to assist them in holding the Hocking valley trade."

In response to this request a miners' meeting was held, and an Ohio Coal Exchange operator, in a newspaper article, reported the action taken by the meeting in the following words (I will make one more quotation, viz., from the no doubt authentic report of a mass meeting held at Mitchell Furnace, June 11th and 12th) :

The noon train brought Hon. J. R. Buchtel, T. Longstreth, William Job and Chris Evans to the meeting. The thirty minutes having expired and the committee on resolutions being ready to make their report, the meeting was again called to order by the president of the district, Mr. Christopher Evans. He stated that he thought it advisable to invite Messrs. Buchtel, Longstreth and Job to be present at this meeting, so they might be able to hear what was said and to make their own defense.

This meeting proved to be a very interesting one for both operators and miners and was extremely convincing to any unbiased mind that the miners were not in need of any help from the officials of the district to prove their determination not to accept the reduction proposed without a contest.

Hocking valley miners' officials were not looked upon with the best of grace by the coal operators, but in this instance their position was made clear and their attitude in presenting the claims of their constituents better understood. In the

Columbus *Dispatch* of June 30, 1884, the following statement was made:

The Columbus and Hocking Valley and Toledo Railroad Company has at last acceded to the demand of the coal operators and granted a reduction of 20 cents per ton in transportation rates.

The same issue also stated:

Pittsburg operators have an unseen hand in preventing an amicable adjustment in the Hocking valley.

On the same date the *Ohio State Journal* gave an interview with George R. Carr, general superintendent of the Columbus and Hocking Valley and Toledo Railroad, on what had been done at a district meeting of miners held at New Straitsville, June 27, in which he said:

Last Friday, when the convention was in session at New Straitsville, we telegraphed down there that we would haul coal to Columbus for 65 cents per ton instead of 85 cents a ton as heretofore, and continue to haul at that price, if the miners would work for 60 cents per ton. However, they ignored our proposition and so the old rate will remain. It may be that the message was not delivered, but we filed it in the office here at noon, so there was plenty of time to take action on it at the afternoon session.

The following statement sent to the Columbus *Dispatch* by a special correspondent from New Straitsville, July 5, 1884, is self-explanatory:

The message the railroad claims to have sent to the late district convention was private to their agent here. He has it now, and relieves the convention of all blame bestowed upon it by Superintendent Carr. It reads as follows:

"Columbus, Ohio, June 27, 1884.

"J. W. Hole, Agent:

"The railroad agrees to reduce rates to Columbus 20 cents a ton if the miners reduce mining to 60 cents.

S. BURKE, Vice-President."

The agent was not asked to deliver the message to others. He did inform a few miners of its import, but the convention or delegates to the same received no information.

From the statement referred to it will be observed that the railroad's contribution to prevent the strike was made with a proviso that made the reduction just the same, and even that was withdrawn. A rather interesting feature of the reduced freight rate question was in the fact that a miner's official was informed that if the railroad company could be induced to reduce freight rates to Columbus to 75 cents per ton that mining would continue at the then present rate of 70 cents per ton.

Owing to notices having been posted throughout the district that mining rates would be reduced from 70 cents to 60 cents per ton after June 23, 1884, and all day labor in proportion, it was decided to hold a district convention at New Straitsville on June 27 to consider the situation and make preparations to meet the issue.

The convention was held at the place and time stated. After the convention was called to order by the district president and the proposition explained, it would be rather difficult to find a more enthusiastic set of men, all anxious and willing to do battle for the maintenance of prevailing prices, rather than be the leading element to reduce wages, not only in the Hocking district of Ohio, but throughout the entire State, with a probability of extending it elsewhere. Twenty delegates were present, representing twenty-three mines. After discussing the propositions made, giving due consideration to all surrounding features of a long contest, the convention resolved:

That all mines under the jurisdiction of the district remain idle until the syndicate and the Ohio Coal Exchange withdrew their notice of reduction.

The district president was also empowered to appoint a committee for the purpose of communicating with all labor organizations, and to provide against emergencies likely to occur should the suspension continue for any length of time.

It was resolved that a committee of three be appointed to prepare an address to the miners of Ohio, setting forth the situation and the necessity of their aid and support (committee, N. R. Hysell, W. E. Evans, Alexander Johnson). A unanimous vote was also taken to maintain the 70-cent rate. Pres-

ident John McBride of the Ohio Amalgamated Association, was present at the meeting and gave valuable advice on the questions involved. Before the meeting adjourned Alexander Johnson was elected secretary for the district.

From this time forward the Hocking valley was made the dumping ground for the worst kind of refuse the principal cities could supply as strikebreakers, and most of the foreign nations were represented in the makeup.

On the eleventh day of July, 1884, the following notice was issued:

Notice: All miners in the employment of this company are hereby discharged and notified to remove their tools from the mines immediately.

(Signed) THE COLUMBUS AND HOCKING COAL AND IRON CO.

At this stage of the proceedings the warmth of feeling began to grow stronger on both sides, and very little time was lost by either to make it interesting to all spectators that entered the valley from every point of view that the scheming warriors can conceive to bring success.

The battle fairly begun, and only one mine in the district willing to pay the prevailing price, caused a series of conferences to determine what was the best course to pursue. In this dilemma, after considering that the mines at Corning, a few miles distant, employing a large number of miners, would also continue to work at the price determined upon, it was concluded to let all mines work with the understanding that the work in the one mine at New Straitsville that was willing to pay the price should be divided among the idle miners there, and that the Corning miners having expressed a willingness to pay \$1 per week out of their earnings, the same should be checked off by the company. The Hocking miners' experience in sharing the work in times of distress, or stoppage of individual mines through any cause, imbued them with confidence in the conclusions reached and the fight was on.

While this method of procuring funds to carry on the bitter conflict anticipated was not of the best, it was the only one at command, and no more determined men ever entered into a contest of any kind with greater zeal and unanimity of feeling.

The notices posted on July 5, 1884, that the Hocking Valley Syndicate and the Ohio Coal Exchange had withdrawn their offer of 60 cents per ton had a tendency to increase the already exasperated feeling of the striking miners rather than otherwise, and urged them on with renewed vigor to prepare themselves as best they could for a long contest.

The relief committee that had been elected at the Straitsville district convention, consisting of Chris Evans, president; S. E. Davis, secretary, and John White, treasurer, prepared commissary headquarters to transact their business in, and a storeroom for the retention of provisions received until the day set for the weekly distribution of food to the various places throughout the district.

Newspaper abuse of the officers chosen to do the work of collection and distribution became very personal, but failed to accomplish the desired effect. While the want and distress was marked, the determined will to do battle was uppermost in the minds of miners, and the shortcomings frequently met with in all such conflicts were considered by them as secondary compared with the real issue in which a reduction of wages was forced upon them.

It would hardly do justice to say that in the movements made no errors were committed that at times lent prestige to the opposite force, on both sides, when the battle was raging most.

Hocking valley operators were not always free from newspaper censure during the contest, being frequently called to account for violation of law in their importations of foreign police. In many instances the imported guards were charged as disturbers of the peace rather than peacemakers, a cloak they wore that shielded them from many wrongs perpetrated in the work assigned them. It was a great fight for supremacy and the Hocking county sheriff at times made his position very clear that his friendship for the miners was made up in packages far below the average. In arguing the question of foreign police coming into the valley, newspaper correspondents were rather severe on the local authorities for admitting the importation of Chicago and Pinkerton guards into the State under the pretense of protecting person and property, a

duty they said belonged to Ohio's protective force in accordance with Ohio law. Section No. 6913 of the Revised Statutes was quoted in the following language:

Whoever takes upon himself to exercise, or officiate in, any office or place of authority in this State without being fully authorized * * * shall be fined not more than three hundred dollars, or imprisoned not more than twenty days, or both.

And the question was asked, "Who gave these Illinois policemen 'lawful authority' to officiate in Athens, Perry and Hocking counties?" Let the learned council who advised the coal operators to import foreign policemen ponder that question. State power was not questioned when local authority was unable to control.

Questions of this character were frequently indulged in, but the under dog was allowed to squeal on, with these odds against him, until by sheer force he was able to extricate himself from the foreign force with which he was surrounded. A few wily ones among the Pinkerton guards, with their deceptive practices, often tried to create a jealous spirit of nationality among the miners, but with a very few exceptions the operators' cash was spent without accomplishing much on these lines.

At the Ohio Miners' Amalgamated Association convention, held September 9-12, 1884, the State was well represented with forty-two delegates reported present. George Harrison and W. H. Turner represented the Cambridge field, N. R. Hysell, Martin Hughes, Alexander Johnson, Chris Evans and John E. Short were among the delegates representing the Hocking valley district.

The convention was a notable one in character, and those present are not likely to forget the lively times displayed at both day and night sessions held through misguided ambition, a misnomer for selfishness that has done so much to divide miners and injure their cause. John McBride, president; W. T. Smith, vice-president, and Ebenezer Lewis, secretary, were appointed a committee to draft an appeal for aid in behalf of the locked-out miners of the Hocking valley, after which one

of the most memorable miners' conventions ever held at Columbus, Ohio, adjourned *sine die*.

The Hocking valley contest had now entered into its fourth month, and the circulars issued for aid having reached nearly every State in the Union, returns were coming in with a fair supply of provisions and cash that gave considerable encouragement to continue on.

Hocking Valley Syndicate and Ohio Coal Exchange iron-clad contracts for the miners to sign before they would be allowed to commence work began to be very conspicuous all around. W. P. Rend, the only coal operator in the valley paying the regular mining rates demanded, had by this time become a very interesting figure in the contest, and, being on the miners' side of the controversy, had created an unkind feeling on the part of those operators that had taken such a determined stand to establish lower rates. In one of Mr. Rend's interviews on the situation he is quoted as follows:

It is, I know, asserted that a lower rate of mining would increase the tonnage of the Hocking valley region. This is only true to a limited extent, as a reduction in this great coal district would be followed by like reductions throughout Ohio as well as in neighboring States. Consequently when these various reductions would take place we would then, as operators, occupy relatively in all competitive markets the same position towards each other as at present. The American laborer is entitled to wages that will afford him not only the necessities of life, but a fair share of the comforts of civilization. The operators and the railroad companies interested in this region have themselves to blame for the results of the false business policy which they have adopted in the early part of the season.

Mr. Rend concluded a long article as follows:

Now, as a final word, I believe it would be the part of wisdom for these operators to stop this war upon their poor employes and take a fresh start in doing their business on proper and rational principles.

After the Hocking valley strike began to get interesting, indications pointed strongly toward lower rates for mining everywhere because of industrial depression and falling markets in all branches of industry. This state of affairs was embarrassing to the miners' officials, because the original demand

the striking miners were contending for called for higher prices than the markets now justified. To meet this emergency for lower wages was a rather difficult task, especially so when the miners' officials realized that to insist on former prices being paid meant a loss in trade to all operators willing to pay just and equitable rates. But the real barrier in the way of a solution of this much vexed situation was yet to come.

With the operators still paying the same prices as was paid at the time the strike was inaugurated, without publicly expressing their wish to make any change, the all important question was: How or in what manner could the miners working for them be prevailed upon to accept a reduced rate for mining when not asked to do so by the operators that employed them? Here was the dilemma. After a miners' official consultation on the subject it was determined that something must be done to relieve these operators from paying higher rates than industrial conditions warranted, or the mines in the Corning field, from which the principal support was coming in, would be shut down for want of trade and the striking miners' chief support be cut off as a result.

The miners' State president being ill, the next question was, whom this duty of asking the miners working to accept a reduced rate for mining should fall upon? The miners' officials had already decided that this must be done in justice to the operators paying rates demanded and for the miners' own best interest.

Under this emergency the conclusion was reached at the miners' conference that the next heir to this position was the president of the district in which the problem had to be solved. While somewhat embarrassed at the thought of having this honor thrust upon him, the district president performed the task, not because he wanted to, but for the sole reason that he believed it a duty incumbent upon him under the emergency clause.

With Corning selected as the storm center and the opera house the court of equity, the unusual and uncommon pleader of lower prices ascended the stage, uncertain of his surroundings, which were not of the best, and commenced his plea

before a jury of his peers that listened with marked attention to the astonishing message he was sent to unfurl.

During the delivery of this uncommon request a feeling of anger took possession of the few, while the many looked upon it in a more serious light, and to the latter the district president felt under deep obligations at the time, and was highly gratified at the conclusions reached, and the accomplishment of the object sought before the meeting adjourned. One can readily understand the difficulty under which the task was performed when told that the pleader for lower prices had made his weekly calls upon these same men for contributions voluntarily given by them at all times during the contest.

About this time the battle was raging fiercely. Both sides had begun to realize that strategic moves were not only necessary, but that the contest had reached a stage bordering on vicious attempts to conquer at any cost. In their desperation all parties involved became recklessly determined to make a showing that they thought was worthy the steel of older warriors in a desperate fight for the enemy's blood. Scenes of skirmishes were being reported from different points throughout the district, and the feeling became intense as to what the outcome would be.

Pinkerton guards had already been stationed at many points. Detective agents from Springfield, Ohio, of the John T. Norris strain were prowling around, and the enraged temper of the striking miners was, to say the least, at blood heat, if not a few degrees higher up in the scale. Armed agents of the coal companies and soldiers were sent into the valley by night. This invasion of a foreign foe in the early morning hours caused great consternation among the miners, as well as many of the business men that had now become deeply interested.

The town of New Straitsville having been chosen for this midnight attack, its enraged citizens were almost in open revolt when witnessing the firearm display exhibited on the station platform located on the principal street. To add to the already exasperated feeling, for some unsatisfactory reason given one of the carelessly equipped would-be bravadoes fired the contents of a gun given him, in what seemed to be an

open and defiant manner, in the presence of citizens already inflamed with anger very hard to subdue, an act that could readily be construed as the signal for an open combat.

Fortunate it was, however, that the equipment of arms were all on the one side, but the scene that followed, when the armed invaders left the platform for the mines, left its mark rather hard to efface. The persuasive power used for the miners to return to the street and cease their onward march behind the armed force on their way to the mines was almost exhausted, but finally triumphed amidst a scene of untold forbearance, that the saving of human life alone could only bear. There are some interesting stories of real life among the mine workers of the Hocking valley in their early manifestations of duty to aid those that have been called upon to follow.

As the days had grown into weeks and the weeks into months the feeling of the participants in the strike became intensely bitter. Increased numbers of the foreign labor element were being sent into the district, and confusion reigned supreme. Chicago and other cities contributed largely by sending in a very unworthy class of imports to work in the mines located in obscure places. The effect from this soon became apparent as the striking miners that lived around the mines working became intensely agitated, after which rampant disorder became the chief element, with no good results, but, on the contrary, opened up a way for excuse that the miners' position was less tenable in the eyes of some citizens that thought the time had come when work should be resumed. A notice to this effect follows :

NOTICE

Nelsonville, Ohio, November 29, 1884.

At a meeting of the citizens of our city the following resolutions were unanimously adopted by all present:

"Whereas, It is credibly reported that a number of our miners have expressed a desire to go to work, but through fear of violence to their persons or property from threats that have been made are still standing out; therefore be it

"Resolved, First, that the citizens not directly interested as miners or operators do hereby denounce all such usurpation and pledge their influence and support to the enforcement of

the law in the protection of all such citizens in their rights.

"Resolved, Second, that all miners who are now at work and who come to our city upon business shall receive the same support and protection.

"Resolved, Third, that a copy of the above resolutions be furnished the mayor, and he be requested to instruct his subordinates to the prompt enforcement of the law wherever such violations or attacks are made; and that fifty copies of the above be posted throughout the town.

"By Order Citizens' Meeting."

A few days prior to this notice the citizens of Nelsonville held a meeting for the purpose of trying to get operators and miners together, with the object of adjusting the trouble if possible. Miners and citizens met, but the operators refused to meet with them. Foreign labor continued to pour into the valley, consisting of Polanders and Hungarians, with some Germans and colored men, that helped to swell the number of imports, and the situation was not very inviting to say the least.

During the scramble for places in the mines David Patterson of the Johnson Patterson Coal Company, became a convert to mining coal, and after hastily passing through the street, changed his rather unsuitable attire before partaking of his evening meal at the Dew Hotel, where he sought rest from his unusual occupation.

The money contributed to aid the striking miners, while not sufficient to meet the wants required, began to show by the amounts received that organized labor unions were the principal sources from which the funds were coming in. New York City labor unions did much to help the miners in their contest. The Central Labor Union and the Cigar Makers' Union of New York sent in a good round sum in November, and John Swinton of that city, through his John Swinton's paper, contributed very liberally towards the funds received. J. T. McKechnie, a reporter of New York City papers, sent in several amounts while the contest was on, and the city of Cleveland, Ohio, through the *Cleveland Press*, sent a representative direct to headquarters with \$2,000 collected from Cleveland citizens. The Chicago Central Labor Union was the contributor of a large number of shoes through its presi-

dent, Mark Crawford, who visited the seat of war, that many others took advantage of, in order that they might see what the real Hocking valley coal miner looked like. Very peculiar views were entertained by some visitors, not of the best. The look of surprise, however, on a goodly number of faces after conversing with the genuine culprit of the mine made him an increased number of friends among the more fortunate ones that have since learned to respect the digger of black diamonds and his well-developed knowledge and power in all industrial disputes.

At the close of the year 1884 the strike had brought about changes, with added features and forebodings, that told plainly what the intentions of the Hocking Valley Syndicate and the Ohio Coal Exchange were—that they were fully bent on continuing the struggle without any concessions being made on their part seemed evident. The miners, on the other hand, with a few exceptions, were just as determined to continue the fight. The fact remained, however, that an increased amount of coal was being mined in the lower portion of the district, owing to the increased number of foreign imports that were centered there under Pinkerton guards and other forces employed.

As in nearly all strikes of this nature, with such a type of foreign element that Hocking valley now possessed, the native people of the surrounding country become much annoyed, and frequently complained of the unusual scenes on the hillsides, where on Sundays and other idle days their foreign neighbors caroused, and in their drink-maddened frenzies could be often seen using their spears, pruning hooks and other deadly weapons trying to sample each other's blood. With this unusual torture, old residents became alarmed about their safety, but the fight for supremacy was on and the nuisance continued, because the capital end of the string was the strongest and held a firmer grip to suppress the weaker side, no matter who suffered in consequence.

In the early part of January, 1885, a state convention of the Ohio miners was held at Columbus, Ohio, and, next to the election of officers, the Hocking valley situation was the principal question discussed. After the convention was called to

order and the committee on credentials ready to make their report, Alexander Johnson, as chairman, announced the names of thirty-six delegates present, including State officers. John McBride, president; W. T. Smith, vice-president, and Ebenezer Lewis, secretary.

At this convention Hocking valley proper, or District No. 1, was represented by Alexander Johnson, Buchtel; W. P. Welch, Nelsonville; J. W. Haughee, Nelsonville; Thomas Masey, Shawnee; William Embleton, Carbon Hill, and Chris Evans, New Straitsville. Corning, Rendville, Hemlock and Jacksonville had four delegates present, but at that time were in what was called No. 8 district. George Harrison and W. H. Turner represented the Cambridge district, and the other twenty-four delegates present represented the eastern and northern portions of the State. During the proceedings of the convention the offices of state secretary and treasurer were combined, and it was decided that the state vice-president should be employed on a monthly salary. The pluck-me system was discussed with unusual vigor, resulting in a petition being sent to the Ohio legislature asking for a law that would prohibit its practice throughout the entire State.

The following resolutions on the Hocking valley situation, and an investigation of the causes that led up to the strike, were passed by the convention:

Whereas, The Coal Syndicate, organized in the Hocking valley, is using every effort to destroy the future prosperity of individual operators, and by their present action toward us as miners are seeking to enforce upon us an uncalled for reduction of 20 cents per ton.

Be it resolved, that the executive board of our organization be and are hereby authorized to communicate with all operators outside of the syndicate, with a view of taking into consideration our present situation and, if possible, effect a settlement that will concentrate our forces and enable us to make the fight against the real enemy of both individual operators and miners.

On asking for an investigation of the strike the resolutions passed were as follows:

Whereas, The trades and labor unions of our State are now petitioning the Legislature to investigate the causes leading to

the present difficulty between miners and operators of the Hocking valley; and

Whereas, As miners, we believe such an investigation would demonstrate the justness of our position and lead to an exposure of the corrupt practices of those chartered corporations referred to in the memorial addressed to the Legislature by organized labor; therefore,

Resolved, That we, the representatives of the miners of Ohio, in convention assembled, earnestly request the general assembly of our State to authorize such an investigation to be made.

The following resolution was also passed:

Resolved, That we extend the right hand of fellowship to the miners of Pike Run and Coshocton, willingly accepting them as members of our organization.

John McBride was re-elected president, N. R. Hysell, vice-president, and Ebenezer Lewis, secretary-treasurer. Thomas Taylor, James Nelson, James P. Pollock, Samuel Llewellyn and George Harrison were elected members of the state executive board.

John McBride, Chris Evans and George Harrison were elected to represent the State organization at the Ohio State Trades and Labor Assembly, to be held February 17, 1885. After the selection of John McBride and Chris Evans as a committee to draft an address to organized labor and the public, on the situation in the Hocking valley, the convention adjourned.

Following the adjournment of the Ohio miners' state convention the Columbus *Dispatch*, through its correspondent in the valley, commented strongly on the situation and the attitude of Governor Hoadley for not sending soldiers into the valley in accordance with requests made upon him. The *Dispatch* stated at the time that all was quiet in the valley except a little shooting on the evening of January 8 at Sand Run.

The Bristol tunnel, on the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, a few miles distant from Shawnee, was still out of repairs, which made the prospects for handling freight of any kind out of the question for some time at least on that road. In the New Straitsville territory no attempt had been made to supplant the old miners, hence the upper portion of the valley was

still free from the foreign labor invasion, but were well supplied with Pinkerton detectives that often made things interesting for credulous and suspecting visitors that were found numerous at all times during the contest.

In the early part of January, 1885, the Pennsylvania miners, while actively engaged in building up their State organization, known as the Miners' Amalgamated Association of Pennsylvania, were also liberal in their contributions to aid the striking miners of the Hocking valley. The officers for the State organization were George Harris, president; Lewis Hopkins, vice-president, and Richard Davis, secretary. The Pittsburg miners were organized as District No. 1, with John Costello, president; J. W. Hindmarsh, vice-president; John Flannery, secretary, and James Nelson, treasurer. The anthracite, Schuylkill county officers were I. D. Jones, president; P. Conners, vice-president; Daniel Duffy, secretary; John Parker, treasurer.

The strike situation in the Hocking valley presented a rather gloomy aspect, and, while sick at home, State President John McBride addressed a letter to the district president, a part of which reads as follows:

Massillon, Ohio, February 18, 1885.

Friend Evans: I am still very sick and don't think that I will be able to go out for some time to come. I have several letters from Nelsonville, and one from Carbon Hill telling me that the strike is gone, but they still evince a spirit of resistance. Chris! I think affairs have reached that point in your valley when it is policy for you to settle on any terms except sign the contract. I am sorry I cannot be with you in your darkest hour. I trust for the best, however. Accept regards.

Yours respectfully,

JOHN MCBRIDE.

During the month of February the working force continued to increase until the entire district, outside of Shawnee and Straitsville, was filled with imports, and while the character of the men, so far as mining coal was concerned, was not near as good as the old miners, the fact remained that those working were producing all the coal needed to supply the trade without any coming from either Shawnee or the New Straitsville division.

On the 6th day of March, 1885, another State convention of Ohio miners was held at Columbus with thirty-four delegates present. After the convention had been called to order and the committees appointed, the Hocking valley situation was made the leading topic of discussion, and the iron-clad contract offered by the syndicate for their miners to sign was condemned, as well as the coal company that sought to enforce it.

In the discussion on mining prices the convention decided that the rate for Hocking valley should be 60 cents per ton and that other portions of the State should maintain proportionate rates. After further discussion on the effect of a compulsory surrender of Hocking valley miners, together with other State affairs, the convention adjourned.

When the Hocking valley delegates returned home and made their report with no change in the situation, the question arose as to whether or not any more good could be accomplished by a continuation of the contest. In the discussion that followed the general opinion prevailed that, inasmuch as the operators were getting as much coal as they had trade for, it was of little use to continue the fight any longer. In accordance with this sentiment, after a few more days' continued struggle, it was decided to issue a call for a district convention to be held at New Straitsville in order that the question might be thoroughly discussed and decided upon.

On March 18, 1885, the district convention was held as proposed, the situation explained and expressions made by delegates present that reflected both the serious and determined kind. While the operators were not present at the meeting, their side of the case was not overlooked. The decreased market value in the stocks of both Syndicate and Hocking valley railroad companies, away below par, were fully considered, and the deeply impressed lesson for both victors and victims, though bought at an enormous price, was not without its value to both parties in the contest.

The amount of money and value of provisions received during the nine months' contest for the support of 4,000 mine workers and their families amounted to \$70,333.48 in cash, together with food and clothing to the amount of \$26,740.67,

according to the report of the auditors, Alexander Johnson and Thomas Lawson, or a total of \$97,074.15.

At the close of the nine months' strike the following circular was issued:

TERMINATION OF THE HOCKING VALLEY STRIKE.

New Straitsville, Ohio, March 18, 1885.

To the Public in General:

Fellow Citizens—For the last nine months a relentless war has been waged on the miners of the Hocking valley by their employers, known as the Columbus & Hocking Valley Coal & Iron Company and the Ohio Coal Exchange, assisted by the Columbus daily press, brought about by an unjust reduction (forced upon the miners under their employ), from 70 to 50 cents per ton, at a time when all other operators in the State were working in harmony with their miners at rates formerly paid.

These monster monopolies that are daily growing to such immense proportions, and which in the near future will pauperize every industrious workman in our land, demand the closest attention of the toiling masses.

Millions of dollars from the scanty earnings of the industrious classes have been squandered by them in order to pauperize their employes. Hundreds of the most degraded specimens of humanity, selected from the filthiest haunts of almost every city, have been hired to intimidate and demoralize the miners of the Hocking valley. The pauper labor of every land has been strewn in our midst by the thousands.

At a convention of the miners of this district held on the 18th day of March 1885, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That we accept the reduction in the price of mining from 60 to 50 cents per ton, allowing every man to use the convictions of his own conscience about signing the contract.

Although the great conflict is ended, much suffering still exists, owing to the fact that many of our miners are unable to obtain employment, by reason of the foreign labor together with miners from other States, that have flooded into our district during the continuance of our trouble. We therefore earnestly appeal for aid to allay the suffering that must necessarily follow for some time to come.

To organized labor, the public press and to the generous and sympathetic public that has so nobly responded to our appeals during this bitter conflict, we return our sincere and heartfelt thanks. Trusting that some other means may be

adopted in the future that will prevent these conflicts that periodically arise between capital and labor, we are

Very respectfully yours,

CHRIS. EVANS,
ALEXANDER JOHNSON,
THOMAS LAWSON,
Committee.

Send all aid to Samuel E. Davis, Box 132, Shawnee, Ohio, which will be duly acknowledged and distributed as necessity demands.

After the Hocking valley strike had been declared off for the entire district at the convention held March 18, 1885, as per notice published through the public circular issued, the New Straitsville miners, owing to their conduct throughout the contest, were reminded by the syndicate that before they could resume work their mining prices would be reduced 10 cents per ton lower than had been agreed upon and was being paid in other portions of the district. Or, in other words, the Straitsville miners were to receive 40 cents per ton, while all other miners in the district were receiving 50 cents per ton. This proposition from the syndicate rather staggered the Straitsville men, which added, as they thought, insult to injury after the nine months' struggle and scanty living through which they had just passed.

Under these circumstances one can readily understand the gravity of their situation. But the very thought of accepting this rubbing-in process without a protest proved too much for their valor, and the proposition was rejected for other reasons than those appearing on the surface. To accept 10 cents per ton less than was being paid in other portions of the district that had resumed work, they considered, would put the Straitsville miners in a very bad light, and was contrary to the well-merited principles of unionism they had always maintained. They also realized that this lower rate, once accepted by them, would be the established price throughout the district, and would also affect other mining districts in the State.

The result was that, while there seemed to be hunger in the foreground through this added torture of the syndicate, they resolved to continue the strike. The unexpected stand

taken by the Straitsville miners rather increased the already ruffled temper of the syndicate, as well as that of their allies, the Hocking Valley Railroad Company. The opposition shown by the latter appeared in many forms from this time forward, one of which was that, unless the Straitsville miners resumed at a given time, the railroad company would tear up the railroad track and abandon the town. This rumor had a very depressing effect on some of the business men because New Straitsville was a town that required a railroad turntable or wye before the engine's nose could be turned around to get out again. But even this report, alarming as it was, failed to swerve the miners from their chosen path.

With the inability of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company to haul coal from the Shawnee mines, owing to the impassable condition of the Bristol tunnel, and the Straitsville miners still holding out, the resumption of work was far from being general throughout the district.

Again organized labor and the public were appealed to for support to aid the miners without work for reasons stated. As time rolled on and the railroad track still in its former place at Straitsville, a little cherished hope yet remained that the humane side of the syndicate would be reached and the same prices be conceded that other miners were working for. But no! the miners' fondest hopes were doomed and the strike went on.

The notice for Straitsville miners to mine coal for 40 cents per ton caused many false rumors to circulate that they had accepted the reduced rate. This rumor created considerable agitation in other parts of the State and in some instances strikes were the result.

After an extension of the Straitsville strike for several weeks from the time set for Hocking miners to resume work on March 18, and it being one of the dullest seasons of the year for the sale of coal, the operators found little trouble in supplying the markets with all the coal needed. With this situation, coupled with the glaring reality that to continue the struggle was not only futile but that the Straitsville miners were the only ones left in the settlement made that could resume work at will, caused serious consideration on the part

of a few loyal men, who suggested that in justice to the Straitsville miners some steps should be taken that would enable them to accept the inevitable and return to work. Upon this question being presented to the district president he very readily acquiesced in the proposition made and a mass meeting of the Straitsville miners was the result.

The meeting opened up with the usual spirit of good cheer among many, and strong assertions were made as to the best course in which the fight could be continued. This fully-expected attitude to start with made the ground rather hazardous to tread upon, more especially so since the sole purpose of a few loyal characters was to take the opposite course. For nearly one year these same advocates for a continuation of the struggle were always found in the foreground and their voices heard with a sound of music as it were, the charms of which had many times lent encouragement that led the way through stormy scenes of conflict that they alone could describe. To cross swords with such valued and loyal friends in their cherished hope that they could yet succeed was a trying ordeal not very easily overcome. Under such circumstances there is a struggle with the inner man that touches the sympathetic chord with more than ordinary pressure, and his mingled thoughts of appreciation for gallant services rendered forms a contention within him that only real scenes of want and pictured despair in mind can surmount.

Such were the conditions that confronted a mass of men just as determined in spirit as at any other time during the entire contest. It was at this stage of the proceedings, though somewhat embarrassed, that the district president undertook to review the situation as best he could from all sides, calling to their minds his conviction that honest labor would not attempt to offer unjust criticism for a surrender on their part to a situation such as now confronted them, nor did he believe there was any room for questioning the stability of men that had made such noble sacrifices, or that a verdict could be rendered by any one that failed to concede them the honor of having waged one of the strongest protests ever made against concentrated wealth to enslave the workers.

After this line of argument and reasoning of other speak-

ers that followed, the conclusion was finally reached to accept the inevitable and resume work, not without provisions being made, however, that a committee should be sent to the employers and ask for a restoration of miners to their former places in the mines, the placing of checkweighmen on the tipples, and the recognition of miners' committees at all times to adjust grievances.

Upon a report being received from the committee appointed that the operators had granted the miners' request, the Straitsville miners continued strike for two months, making eleven months all told, became a closed incident and work was afterwards resumed on the conditions named, but with unmistakable evidence that when the proper time came around they would again be found ready to take back that which they considered had been stolen from them in the midst of their untold but well-known poverty and distress.

The historical events of the Hocking valley strike, while differing at times with the best of morality, have not been without their lessons of merit to both sides of the conflict. The mistakes made at intervals, it is true, have been serious ones, but the lessons learned have been of such value to both in more recent years that one can hardly dispose of the fact that there were some good features mingled with the harmful transactions entered into. After a retrospective view of the past and present, both parties have profited by the experience, and it was the only school in which the necessary education could be taught. It served well the purpose for present-day thought, that their joint interest is of more value when their collective reasoning powers are used to work out the many difficult problems the coal mining interest is so often called upon to solve.

It was a great contest with many thrilling events encountered. Warriors worthy their steel could be found in every nook and corner where the battle was raging most. The valley was strewn with miners ready to do battle for a just cause or die in the attempt. To enumerate or specify without a correct list would only give justice to a few of the bravest of men. With the data at our command, however, we can say for the Hocking valley miners of 1884 and 1885 that their

collective work was well done, and established a reference in history worthy encomiums of praise for all believers of right in a cause so manifestly just.

The defeat of the Hocking valley miners had a telling effect on the valley organization, and the Ohio Miners Amalgamated Association was equally depressed as a result.

The old officials of the Hocking valley district, realizing the weak position the miners occupied, set aside the cost of delegates attending a district convention as formerly to choose officers for another term and re-elected themselves, without opposition from any source or emolument for services rendered, other than the consolation of knowing that there was still sufficient backbone left to warrant a resuscitation just as soon as opportunity offered.

At the close of the year 1884 the following letter was published in the *National Labor Tribune* of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania:

Des Moines, December 27.

Editors *National Labor Tribune*:

The struggle at Angus, Iowa, still continues. The companies had about twenty-five miners arrested for unlawful assemblage and took them twenty-five miles from home to try them. They were discharged at once because of an irregularity in the proceedings, but were rearrested on the same charge. After being in custody several days they have again been discharged. The corporations there are trying every desperate scheme possible to exasperate the strikers, but so far have failed. The miners are making a gallant fight, and, being in the right, have public sympathy on their side.

Yours, etc.,

KIDD.

This letter indicates that the Iowa miners had the nucleus of an organization. So had Pennsylvania (anthracite and bituminous), Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and West Virginia, that from a local or State standpoint gave some prestige; but all lacked the essential quality of associating with each other, a very much-needed requisite to combine the whole.

In the summer of 1885 the question of organizing a miners' national union was freely discussed by Ohio miners, both in conventions and through their official organ, the *National Labor Tribune* of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.

Daniel McLaughlin, who was the miners' State president of Illinois, was also a contributor of articles published in the *Tribune*, and through correspondence between John McBride of Ohio and Daniel McLaughlin of Illinois a call was issued for a national convention to be held at Indianapolis, Indiana, September 9, 1885.

CHAPTER XIII.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF MINERS AND MINE LABORERS.

PROCEEDINGS.

On the date and at the place named J. J. Sullivan of Iowa called the convention to order at 10:30 a. m. John McBride of Ohio was elected temporary chairman and J. J. Sullivan of Iowa temporary secretary.

The credentials committee appointed by the chairman reported thirty-five delegates present from seven States, as follows:

Ohio—John McBride, N. R. Hysell, Chris Evans, William Roberts, George Harrison, William Nixon, J. R. Russell, Nicholas Hocking, William H. Bassett, Samuel Llewellyn.

West Virginia—J. B. Fleming, T. P. Gray, W. A. Keith.

Iowa—J. J. Sullivan, A. M. Reid.

Indiana—John Mooney, Patrick McAdams, William Houston, Egbert Houser, Burton Vanhook, James Wall, William H. Lowry.

Illinois—Daniel McLaughlin, P. H. Donnelly, Chris Campbell, Percival Clarke, William E. Smith, David Ross, H. W. Smith, William Monohan.

Pennsylvania—John H. Davis, George Harris, Henry Chappell, David Young.

Kansas—James Smith.

For permanent officers, Daniel McLaughlin of Illinois was elected president, J. B. Fleming of West Virginia secretary, and J. J. Sullivan of Iowa assistant secretary.

The official report states that on taking the chair, "Mr. McLaughlin delivered a short address on the deplorable condition of the miners in his State and the mining craft generally, and the needs of a general organization; after which it was decided, on motion, that each delegate answer the call of his name on the roll by stating the condition of his constituency, and what they desire from this convention in a general way."

In the discussion that followed each delegate present made their strongest plea for the organization of a national union.

Editor Leffingwell of the *Labor Signal* of Indianapolis and Colonel Maynard, an Indianapolis labor champion, together with Editor Eaton of the *Signal*, the Illinois miners' official organ, were present at the convention and spoke cheeringly of the grand and noble object the delegates had in view.

During its proceedings the convention discussed the screen question, national suspensions, convict contract labor, semi-monthly pay, the truck system and the eight-hour workday, and the spirit manifested displayed a character well aimed to secure improved conditions in the coal mining industry.

John McBride presented a series of resolutions providing for the organic foundation of the national association that met with great favor, and with a few minor changes were accepted by the convention later on.

The character of the reports made of all States represented showed the incapability of the miners to either redress wrongs imposed or initiate any reform owing to their unorganized condition.

Pennsylvania, with a capacity for mining coal more than the output of all other coal-producing States, was only able to muster out a small number of recruits. Ohio numbered less than one-third of the miners employed. The small number of miners organized in Illinois were confined to the northern portion of the State. Indiana, in proportion to her numbers, was a little stronger, while West Virginia, Iowa and Kansas were struggling hard trying to keep their heads above the stream that was bearing so heavily upon them.

The call issued for the convention suggested the necessity of providing a sufficient per capita to defray expenses, and the

following list of money paid will show how well it was carried out by the States represented: Iowa, \$26.70; Kansas, \$5; Pennsylvania, \$20.13; West Virginia, \$7; Illinois, \$58.75; Ohio, \$151.85; Indiana, \$31.45. Total, \$300.88.

The following preamble and constitution was adopted.

PREAMBLE AND CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL FEDERATION
OF MINERS AND MINE LABORERS OF THE UNITED STATES
AND TERRITORIES, ADOPTED AT INDIANAPOLIS,
INDIANA, SEPTEMBER, 12, 1885.

PREAMBLE.

As miners and mine laborers our troubles are everywhere of a similar character. The inexorable law of supply and demand determine the point where our interests unite. The increased shipping facilities of the last few years have made all coal-producing districts competitors in the markets of this country. This has led to indiscriminate cutting of market prices and unnecessary reductions in our wages, which for some time have been far below a living rate. Our wages are no longer regulated by our skill as workmen, nor by the value of the products of our labor, but by competition with cheaper labor. Our standard of workmanship is fast being lowered by the present method of screening coal before weighing, and of the practice on the part of our employers of importing foreign cheap labor to their mines. In many localities free speech has been effectually suppressed. That monstrous swindling machine, the "truck system," which was banished from England by legislation, has been transplanted, and is now flourishing in our midst. Our ills are many and our privileges few; all can be attributed to the lack of organized effort on our part. Our failure to act in concert when contesting for principles and rights has brought about the demoralization and degradation of our craft. Local, district and State organizations have done much toward ameliorating the condition of our craft in the past, but today neither district nor State unions can regulate the markets to which their coal is shipped. We know this to our sorrow. Hence, while approving of local organizations, whether secret or open in character, we are convinced that by federating under one general head our powers for good would be increased and a speedy betterment of our common condition follow. In a federation of all lodges and branches of miners' unions lies our only hope. Single handed we can do nothing, but federated there is no power of wrong that we may not openly defy. Federation will act as a stimulant and

infuse new life into all the different local, district and State organizations. It should do so. The cry of distress which arises from members of our craft in all sections of the country demands us to act, and act at once. Then, let us organize and agitate for liberty and living mining rates for justice to our craft.

CONSTITUTION.

Article I — Name.

This association shall be known as the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers of the United States and Territories.

Article II — Objects.

1. The objects of this association will be to promote the interests of miners and mine laborers morally, socially and financially; for the protection of their health and their lives; to spread intelligence amongst them; to remove, as far as possible, the cause of strikes, and adopt, wherever and whenever practicable, the principles of arbitration and restriction; to urge upon all miners and mine laborers the necessity of becoming citizens, that we may secure, by the use of the ballot, the services of men friendly to the cause of labor, both in our State and national legislative bodies; to create a fund for the support and protection of the members of this association.

2. To obtain legislative enactments for the more efficient management of mines, whereby the lives and health of our members may be better preserved.

3. To shorten the hours of labor to eight hours per day.

4. To secure the enactment of a law for the weighing of all coal before being screened, and to prevent operators and miners from contracting to waive or modify the said law.

5. To protect all members who are unjustly dealt with by their employers while endeavoring to carry out the behests of this confederation.

6. To assist all similar organizations which have the same objects in view, to wit: Mutual protection and the protection of labor against the encroachments of capital.

7. The total abolition of the system of contracting convict labor in penal or reformatory institutions when brought in contact with free and honest labor.

8. The adoption of the two weeks' pay system and the abolition of the truck store system in all its forms, and to secure to its members justice and equality in every legitimate way.

Article III — Membership.

This association shall be composed of all miners and mine laborers in and around the mines of the United States and Territories who will subscribe to the constitution and by-laws, be governed by them in all their parts, and conform to the principles upon which they are based.

2. All local unions in States where district or State organizations exist shall attach themselves to said organization before being recognized by the federation.

Article IV — Executive and Legislative Powers.

The executive and legislative power of this association shall be vested in an executive board composed of five (5) members at large and one member from each of the bituminous coal-producing States and one member from the anthracite district, and in the general conventions of the association, in the absence of the latter, the board shall guide the actions of the association upon all questions of general importance to its members.

Article V — Officers, How Chosen.

At the annual convention of the association there shall be elected, from amongst the delegates present, one executive secretary, one treasurer, and five members at large of the general executive board, two of whom shall be the executive secretary and treasurer. Each delegate shall cast one vote for each member he represents in good standing, and the candidates receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected and shall enter upon the duties of their respective offices at once. One member of the executive board shall be elected from each State. The delegates present from each State shall have the right to name their own member of the board, and the same shall be confirmed by the convention. Should any State not be represented at the first convention of the association, and having a desire to be represented upon the board, they may select their own member, and their selection shall be approved by the board.

Article VI — Representation.

This federation shall consist of delegates from the various local, district and State unions that pay their capita assessments levied for the maintenance of the federation. The representation to be as follows: One delegate to each one hundred members or the fractional part thereof. The regular sessions of the federation shall be held annually, beginning on the first Tuesday of September of each year. Special sessions may be called when necessary by the executive board.

Article VII — Revenue.

Local, district and State unions that are part of this federated body shall be responsible for the payment of all taxes or assessments levied upon members, and the same shall be paid, through the proper officers of those unions, to the treasurer of the federation.

Twenty-five cents shall be assessed upon each member as a defense fund, the same to be kept in the local treasury until called for by the executive board. Five (5) cents per member shall be paid as an entrance fee and one (1) cent per member per month as monthly dues.

Article VIII — Officers' Salaries.

The executive secretary shall receive \$60 per month and actual expenses, to be approved of by the executive board at their various meetings.

The treasurer shall receive a percentage of 1 per cent of all receipts.

Each member of the national executive board, when engaged in behalf of the association, shall be paid \$2.50 per day for wages and \$1.50 per day for board, and traveling expenses to and from his place of residence.

Article IX.

The matter of bond, security, etc., shall be referred to our executive board, with full power to act on the same.

Article X — Duties of Officers.

The executive secretary shall have power to convene the board at the request of a majority of the members at large; he shall be present at all meetings of the board and keep a true record of their proceedings, which shall be transmitted by him to all district and State secretaries; he shall have charge of all books, papers and other properties of the federation, except the books and papers of the treasurer, and shall deliver to his successor, or to any person authorized to receive the same, all books, papers or other property belonging to his office; when required by the board he shall notify officially all State executive boards and other branches and lodges of special sessions, carry on all necessary correspondence between the same, collect information as to the state of the market, the production of the mines in each State, and the number of men employed therein; this information he shall compile statistically for the use of the board; he shall attest all bills, drafts and other papers, and perform such other

duties as may be required of him from time to time by the board; he shall give his whole time and attention to the work of his office.

Treasurer.

The treasurer shall receive all moneys collected for the federation and give his receipt for the same; he shall pay all orders of the executive board when attested by the executive secretary; he shall render, in writing, at all annual sessions of the federation, and at quarterly meetings of the board, a true account of the receipts and expenditures; he shall deliver to his successor, or to any one duly authorized to receive them, all moneys, books and other properties belonging to his office.

Duties of the Executive Board.

The executive board, in the absence of a general convention, shall have full power to levy assessments for the protection of our craft and to inaugurate any movement by which a betterment of our condition may be arrived at; they shall not countenance any local or district strike until they have thoroughly investigated their causes; they shall watch carefully the actions of all State and national legislative bodies, and issue petitions calling for the signatures of miners and laboring men for or against any bill calculated to benefit or injure the cause of labor; a majority of all members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of all business of the board.

Officers elected:

Executive secretary, Chris Evans, Ohio; national treasurer, Daniel McLaughlin, Illinois.

National executive board members: Chris Evans, Ohio; Daniel McLaughlin, Illinois; John H. Davis, Pennsylvania; J. B. Fleming, West Virginia; J. J. Sullivan, Iowa.

State members of the national executive board: Ohio, John McBride; Indiana, Patrick McAdams; Illinois, David Ross; Pennsylvania, George Harris; West Virginia, T. P. Gray; Iowa, A. M. Reid; Kansas, James Smith.

The following resolution was introduced by John McBride and adopted:

Whereas, The *National Labor Tribune* of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, having at all times and under all circumstances proven its devotion to the miners' cause, and by reason of

this many of our State and district unions now recognize it as their official organ, their friend and advocate; be it

Resolved, That we increase its power for good by making it the official organ of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers.

Brief speeches were made by the executive secretary, Treasurer McLaughlin, John McBride, George Harris and J. J. Sullivan touching upon the work done and the urgent necessity of all present using their every effort to carry out the principles advocated until success was achieved.

After the adoption of resolutions to watch carefully State and national legislation on the importation of cheap labor, thanking the press of the city and members of the Trades Assembly of Indianapolis and the officers of the convention for services rendered, including the presentation of a gold-headed cane to President McLaughlin upon which he might lean, after his long life of devotion to labor, by John McBride; making headquarters of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers of the United States and Territories at New Straitsville, Ohio, the home of the executive secretary; thanking John McBride for able and efficient services rendered at the convention; records read and approved, the convention adjourned, *sine die*.

Daniel McLaughlin, president; J. B. Fleming, secretary; J. J. Sullivan, assistant secretary. September 12, 1885.

On organizing the executive board after the convention adjourned, John H. Davis of Pennsylvania was elected chairman and Chris Evans secretary. On discussing the various subjects brought before the board, the following was taken into consideration and adopted:

Resolved, That our secretary be authorized to draft an address to the mine operators of the United States and Territories asking for a joint meeting with the members of the board for the purpose of adjusting market and mining prices in such a way as to avoid strikes and lockouts and give to each party an increased profit from the sale of coal.

It was also "resolved, That the resolution authorizing a joint meeting of operators and the board be given to the press for publication."

JOHN H. DAVIS, Chairman.
CHRIS EVANS, Secretary.

At a State convention of Illinois miners, held at the State House, Springfield, Illinois, in 1885, Daniel McLaughlin was elected president, H. W. Smith vice-president and P. H. Donnelly secretary. While the funds of the State organization were very meager, these officials made an energetic canvass through the State with a fair degree of success.

In compliance with the resolution adopted by the executive board of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, on September 12, 1885, the executive secretary issued the following circular address to coal operators in nearly every State and Territory where coal was being mined:

General Office of N. F. of M. and M. L.

New Straitsville, Ohio.

To All Mine Operators of the United States and Territories:

Gentlemen—The following resolution was adopted at a meeting of the executive board of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, held at Indianapolis, Indiana, September 12, 1885:

“Resolved, That our secretary be authorized to draft an address to the mine operators of the United States and Territories, asking for a joint meeting with the board for the purpose of adjusting market and mining prices in such a way as to avoid strikes and lockouts and give to each party an increased profit from the sale of coal.”

I, therefore, respectfully solicit a representation from your body to meet said board at a meeting to be held at Chicago, Illinois, on Thursday, October 15, 1885, at 10 o'clock a. m., to consider the above questions, with an earnest desire that a more practical system may be adopted that will harmonize our feelings and bring about the much needed reformation so much required at the hands of both parties interested.

Trusting that this invitation will be accepted in good faith, and that good results may follow, I am,

Very respectfully yours,

CHRISTOPHER EVANS, Executive Secretary.

P. S.—All communications on this subject must be addressed to the executive secretary, Christopher Evans, New Straitsville, Perry county, Ohio.

As per circular call issued by Executive Secretary Evans to coal operators of the United States and Territories for a joint conference, the miners' representatives were present at

Chicago October 15, the date named in the call, but W. P. Rend was the only coal operator present. At the suggestion of Mr. Rend, Secretary Evans sent invitations to coal operators in the city asking them to meet the miners the following day.

On October 16, in response to this second invitation, a joint conference was held, with the following named operators and miners' representatives present:

Operators—W. P. Rend of Chicago, A. L. Sweet, general manager of the Wilmington and Streator Coal Company; James Welch of the Illinois Co-operative Company, S. W. Gilman of the Ellsworth and Danville Coal Company, E. C. Hegler of the LaSalle Zinc Manufacturing Company, and C. V. Hickox of Illinois, D. C. Jenne of Clay county, Indiana; W. C. Wyman of the Sunday Creek Coal Company.

Miners — Chris Evans, Ohio; Daniel McLaughlin, David Ross and P. H. Donnelly, Illinois; Egbert Hawser, Indiana; A. M. Reid, Iowa; John H. Davis, Pennsylvania, and J. B. Fleming, West Virginia.

The joint conference organized at Plasterers' hall, with W. P. Rend as chairman and Chris Evans secretary. Letters of regret at not being present, but in sympathy with the movement, were read by the secretary from Daniel Edwards of the Kingston Coal Company, E. W. Gaylard, manager of the Standard Coal Company, Angus, Iowa; the Milton Furnace and Coal Company, Wellston, Ohio, and J. C. Hamilton, Shawnee, Ohio.

After these communications were read the chairman made a very interesting speech on the troubles existing between operators and miners, in which he earnestly advocated a change that he believed would relieve the situation and bring about better results for both operator and miner. He advocated in strong terms the necessity of a closer friendship between the employer and the employed so that both could achieve more remunerative returns. In the discussion that followed the feeling for a joint understanding was made agreeably clear by all parties that participated.

Mr. A. L. Sweet said he was heartily in sympathy with the purpose of the conference, and spoke in favor of electing checkweighmen at the mines.

Some very urgent claims for the joint movement on the part of the miners were made by Daniel McLaughlin, John H. Davis and others, after which P. H. Donnelly suggested the appointment of a committee of six to form a line of action to work upon. The following committee was then appointed:

Operators—W. P. Rend, A. L. Sweet, D. C. Jenne.

Miners—Chris Evans, Daniel McLaughlin, J. B. Fleming.

The conference then adjourned.

W. P. REND, Chairman.

CHRIS EVANS, Secretary.

On reassembling October 17, the committee presented the following report:

OPERATORS' AND MINERS' FIRST JOINT CIRCULAR.

To the Miners and Mine Owners of the States and Territories:

At a meeting held in Indianapolis September 12, 1885, by the executive board of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, a resolution was passed instructing its secretary to draft an address to the mine operators of the United States and Territories asking for a joint meeting with the board for the purpose of adjusting market and mining prices in such a way as to avoid strikes and lockouts, and give to each party an increased profit from the sale of coal.

In pursuance of this call and in response to this invitation a convention assembled in Chicago October 15, 1885, composed of a number of coal operators having mines in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania, and of the delegates representing miners employed in the various coal-producing regions of the country.

The undersigned committee, consisting of three mine owners and three delegates representing the miners' organizations, was appointed to make a general public presentation of the objects and purposes of this convention, and to extend an invitation to all those engaged in the coal mining of America to lend their active co-operation toward the establishment of harmony and friendship between capital and labor in this large and important industry.

The undersigned committee believe that this convention will prove to be the inauguration of a new era for the settlement of the industrial question in our mining regions in accordance with intelligent reasoning and based upon fair play and mutual justice.

The history and experience of the past make it apparent to every intelligent and thoughtful mind that strikes and lock-outs are false agencies and brutal resorts for the adjustment of the disputes and controversies arising between employing capital and employed labor. They have become evils of the gravest magnitude, not only to those immediately concerned in them, but also to general society, being fruitful sources of public disturbance, riot and bloodshed. Sad illustrations of this truth are now being witnessed in certain of our large cities and in several of the mining and manufacturing centers of the country. These industrial conflicts generally involve waste of capital on the one hand and the impoverishment of labor on the other. They engender bitter feelings of prejudice and enmity and enkindle the destructive passions of hate and revenge, bearing in their train the curses of widespread misery and wretchedness. They are contrary to the true spirit of American institutions and violate every principle of human justice and of Christian charity.

Apart and in conflict capital and labor become agents of evil, while united they create blessings of plenty and prosperity and enable man to utilize and enjoy the bounteous resources of nature intended for his use and happiness by the Almighty.

Capital represents the accumulated savings of past labor, while "labor is the most sacred part of capital." Each has its respective duties and obligations toward the other. Capital is entitled to fair and just remuneration for its risks and its use, and must have security and protection, while labor, on the other hand, is as fully and as justly entitled to reward for its toil and its sacrifices. Each is entitled to its equitable share, and there is no law, either human or divine, to justify the one impoverishing and crushing the other. God tells us "that the laborer is worthy of his hire," and threatens the vengeance of heaven upon the oppressors of the poor.

The question of what the one should pay and the other receive in compensation can be best determined by friendly conferences, where intelligence and arbitration will take the place of the usual irrational and cruel methods of the past. It is evident that the general standard of reward for labor has sunk too low by reason of the reductions that have taken place during the past few years and that miners generally are receiving inadequate compensation in an employment full of toil and danger.

It is also equally true that the widespread depression of business, the overproduction of coal and the consequent severe competition have caused the capital invested in mines to yield little or no profitable returns. The constant reductions of

wages that have lately taken place have afforded no relief to capital, and, indeed, have but tended to increase its embarrassments. Any reduction in labor in any coal field usually necessitates and generates a corresponding reduction in every other competitive coal field. If the price of labor in the United States was uniformly raised to the standard of three years ago the employers of labor would occupy toward each other the same relative position in point of competition as at present. Such an advance would prove beneficial to their interests, as it would materially help to remove the present general discontent of the miners in their employment. However, such a general advance can not be made at the present time, from the fact that already contracts in many districts have been made between the coal operators and their miners which will last till next spring; also that contracts have been entered into with manufacturers and large consumers which will continue in force up to the same time.

The committee would, therefore, suggest and invite that another meeting shall take place at Pittsburg on December 15 next, where it is hoped there will be a full representation of the miners and mine owners throughout the various States and Territories, and where permanent action may be taken looking to the improvement of both interests.

The committee feels that this question of labor is one of vital importance, and that it must be met in a spirit of conciliation, and that the problems connected with it require studied thought that may lead to some wise and happy solution.

This is the first movement of a national character in America taken with the intention of the establishment of labor conciliation, and while many practical difficulties may present themselves in retarding the attainment of the laudable end in view it is to be hoped that at least an honest general effort shall be put forth by the operators and miners toward its accomplishment.

The intelligence and progress of the age demand this. Our material interests demand it. Common justice demands it. The internal peace of our country demands it. Respect for the dignity of American labor demands it. The security of capital demands it.

The freedom hitherto enjoyed in this country by our well rewarded labor and the intelligence and prosperity of the American workingman have been matters of congratulation alike gratifying to our national pride and conducive to our national glory. Our industrial progress, the continuance of our extraordinary prosperity, the peace of society and security of our free form of government each and all require that

the American workingman shall receive just and liberal wages and decent treatment. The men employed in our mines, in our factories and in our fields compose not only a vast array of citizenship, but also form our mighty standing army, which is ever ready for the defense of our country's rights and the vindication of our country's honor.

They have built up our national wealth in a marvelous degree and to its present gigantic proportions, and are, therefore, entitled to receive in the future, as in the past, not the wages of European pauperism, but those of generous reward which will enable them to maintain the dignity of their manly labor and protect their American freedom.

W. P. REND,
A. L. SWEET,
D. C. JENNE,
Operators.

CHRISTOPHER EVANS,
DANIEL McLAUGHLIN,
J. B. FLEMING,
Miners.

After reading the contents of the joint circular prepared by the committee the discussions entered into plainly indicated a strong desire to carry out the principles enunciated in the report made. The mistakes of the past were pointed out and the soundest reasons given for a closer unity of purpose between the employer and the employed.

While there were few in number that attended the first joint conference held in Chicago, the feeling displayed proved a manifestation of spirit, the token of which was the surest indication that the operators and miners intended to be better friends in future years.

It was a small beginning, but, like pure seed sown on good ground, the soil being fertile, it germinated and grew beyond compare.

In order to justify their expressed desire for a continuation of the joint relations so far advanced, the committee was authorized to circulate copies of their report, together with a joint invitation to attend another joint conference to be held at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, December 15, 1885. The joint conference then adjourned. W. P. Rend, chairman; Chris Evans, secretary.

In accordance with instructions given, the following circular was issued:

New Straitsville, Ohio, November 18, 1885.

We send you enclosed copy of the resolutions passed at the joint convention of the executive board of miners and mine laborers and of the coal operators, held in Chicago, October 16 and 17, 1885.

The undersigned committee were appointed to invite your attendance to a convention to be held in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, December 15, 1885, to promote the purpose indicated in these resolutions and with the object of establishing some permanent plan that may obviate strikes and settle amicably the relations between miners and their employers.

Please favor us with a reply as to whether this movement meets your approval, and whether you will be present at the forthcoming convention.

W. P. REND,
A. L. SWEET,
D. C. JENNE,

Operators.

CHRIS EVANS,
DANIEL McLAUGHLIN,
J. H. DAVIS,

Miners.

P. S.—Please address your reply to Christopher Evans, secretary executive board National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, New Straitsville, Perry county, Ohio.

In September, 1885, about four months after the New Straitsville miners had resumed work from the strike of 1884 and 1885, the Hocking Valley miners began agitating for an increase in mining rates from 40 cents to 50 cents per ton. After a short strike the operators granted the advance.

On November 9 of the same year another effort was made to raise the mining rates from 50 cents to 60 cents per ton.

At a mass meeting held at Nelsonville, Ohio, November 20, State President John McBride, in an address to the miners there, advocated the advisability of arbitrating the question, which was accepted and a proposition made to that effect. The miners of the entire district were now pretty well aroused on the question at issue when the operators posted the following notice:

We agree to accept the offer of the miners at their meeting at Nelsonville, Ohio, November 20, 1885, to arbitrate the price of mining, and will pay the price agreed upon by the arbitrators from Monday, November 23, 1885, upon conditions that work is resumed that day. This will also govern the price of day labor.

THE COLUMBUS AND HOCKING COAL AND IRON CO.

At several meetings held throughout the district, while the miners were yet idle, the district officials advised the acceptance of the proposition, provided a board of arbitration could be agreed upon that was satisfactory to all operators and miners alike. Considerable discussion was indulged in by the miners, however, on the following words used in the proposition made by the operators, "upon conditions that work is resumed that day." This, however, was overcome for the time being by the adoption of the following resolution:

Nelsonville, Ohio, November 20, 1885.

Resolved, That we, the miners of this place, leave our present troubles in the hands of our president and general officers of the association.

Upon a joint agreement being made between the representatives of the operators and miners a committee of six, three operators and three miners, were appointed to decide conditions upon which the question should be arbitrated.

The committee appointed follows: Operators—David Patterson, C. L. Poston and W. B. Brooks. Miners—Thomas P. James, Chris Evans and Alexander Johnson.

The meeting of this committee was held at Nelsonville, Ohio, the conditions upon which they had agreed accepted and an arbitration board of ten men selected on November 23, 1885, as follows: Operators—John Brashears, J. S. Morton, J. B. Hamilton, David Patterson, F. W. Merrick. Miners—John McBride, N. R. Hysell, Alexander Johnson, Thomas P. James and Chris Evans.

After the board had organized a portion of its members were sent into the Pittsburg district of Pennsylvania for the purpose of comparing prices paid there and at other places in the State of Ohio.

The time spent in arbitrating the question covered a period of about six weeks, which created considerable discussion among the miners because of their suspense as to what price they were working for.

On December 27, 1885, the arbitrators appointed being un-

able to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, jointly agreed upon Judge Allen G. Thurman to act as umpire. Arguments and decision follow:

CHAPTER XIV.

HOCKING VALLEY ARBITRATION.

ARGUMENTS OF THE ARBITRATION BOARD OF OPERATORS AND MINERS, AND JUDGE ALLEN G. THURMAN'S DECISION.

Miners' Argument.

Columbus, Ohio, December 28, 1885.

Hon. Allen G. Thurman, Columbus, Ohio:

Sir—The representatives of the miners and mine operators of the Hocking and Ohio Central coal districts having by unanimous vote selected you as umpire of their arbitration board and to decide upon the merits of our respective claims, we, the representatives of the miners, in accordance with your request, submit in writing the reasons as to why, in our judgment, the price of mining should be sixty (60) cents per ton as claimed by us, in the above-named districts. There are three coal fields that may be classed as competitors of the Hocking and Ohio Central mines. They are the Indiana, Western Pennsylvania and Northern Illinois coal fields. The coals of those different district differ materially from each other, both in the nature of their deposits and in their quality. These coals rank as follows in the Chicago market: Pittsburg, first; Hocking, second; Indiana, third, and Illinois, fourth.

The testimony taken by the board, a copy of which will be furnished you, will show that all, or nearly all, evidence is centered upon the Chicago market, thus making it the battleground upon which the four districts fight for advantage. So it is, but it is not the only market to which coal is shipped, neither is it the most direct market for Hocking coal, nor for Pittsburg coal. There are three separate and almost distinct trades—the lake, the largest; the manufacturing and the domestic. At certain seasons of the year the greatest portion of all trade is reached by shipment on the lakes. Therefore it is fair to consider that point at which each of the coals of the different districts reach the lake as a fair basis to estimate their ability to compete with each other on equitable grounds. The Pittsburg coal reaches the lake at Cleveland, the Hock-

ing and Ohio Central at Toledo, the Illinois and Indiana at Chicago. The cost of producing coal and placing it on cars at the mines—according to agreed reports—in the different districts is:

Hocking and Ohio Central—Mining, 60 cents; royalty, 10 cents; dead work, 25 cents, or a total of 95 cents per ton; freight charges to Toledo, 90 cents per ton. Total cost at Toledo, \$1.85.

Pittsburg Coal—Mining, 65 cents; royalty, 13 cents; dead work, 26 cents; total, \$1.04; freight to Cleveland, \$1, or a total of \$2.04 per ton.

Illinois coal—Cost for mining, $74\frac{1}{2}$ cents; royalty, 13 cents; dead work, $36\frac{3}{4}$ cents, or a total of \$1.24 $\frac{1}{4}$; freight charges to Chicago, 75 cents. Total cost at lake, \$1.99 $\frac{1}{4}$.

Indiana Coal—Costs for mining, 80 cents; royalty, 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents; for dead work, 37 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents; total at mines, \$1.31; freight charges to Chicago, \$1.10. Total at Chicago, \$2.41.

From this you will see that it costs less to place coal on cars at the mines in Hocking than at the mines in any of the other districts; also it costs less to reach their shipping point on the lake than it costs any of the other districts to reach theirs. The average cost of the three competing districts at their lake ports is 2.14 2-3, or 29 cents above the cost of Hocking coal at Toledo. The above we believe to be the fairest estimate that can be given. Illinois for the last two years has produced more coal than Ohio, and it must be evident that the Chicago market belongs to the mines of that State. Yet even in that market we believe that, considering the relative value of the different coals and the cost of placing them on the market, our claims for an advanced rate of mining will hold good. Hocking coal costs the operators \$2.95 on board cars at Chicago; the Pittsburg coal costs \$3.29; Illinois coal, \$1.99 $\frac{1}{4}$; Indiana, \$2.41. The Illinois coal is worth 85 cents per ton less than Hocking. By adding this to the cost of placing Illinois coal on the market the price of that coal would be \$2.84 $\frac{1}{4}$. As this coal is screened over $\frac{7}{8}$ -inch screen and the Hocking over 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ -inch screen, the difference between the two coals is more than made good. The Indiana coal costs at Chicago, \$2.41. This coal is worth 50 cents less than Hocking, and by adding this we get a cost of \$2.91. This coal is a "block coal;" no powder is used and there is but little nut coal made, the average being one ton of nut to fifteen of lump, while the Hocking average is one of nut to four of lump; by allowing 6 cents per ton to Indiana the difference is in favor of Hocking valley. The Pittsburg coal costs \$3.29 at Chicago. It is worth 25 cents more than Hocking; deduct this and it still gives Hocking an advantage of 9 cents per ton.

We claim that Chicago is not a fair point for competition, neither would the city of Columbus be; yet the latter city is just as far from the Hocking mines as is Chicago from the Illinois mines, and for this reason it would be as fair for coal operators of the State of Illinois to urge mining rates upon their miners to enable them to compete at Columbus as it is for Hocking operators to demand their miners to work at rates that will enable them to compete in Chicago with Illinois operators. To illustrate the truth of this let us reverse the present condition of competition by making Columbus the competing market for Illinois, Indiana and Ohio coals. This would raise the cost of Illinois and Indiana coals \$2 per ton, while it would reduce the cost of Hocking \$1.50 per ton. This would place them in this market as follows: Hocking, \$1.45; Illinois, \$3.99¼; Indiana, \$4.41. You will see by this that competition here in Columbus, so far as those coals are concerned, is out of the question, particularly so when you consider their inferiority to Hocking coal. As the operators, in their testimony, endeavor to show that Indiana coal is driving Hocking coal out of South Bend, Indiana, market, we would add that this argument is unfair, for the simple reason that if South Bend, Indiana, is not the market for Indiana coals, we would like to know where their markets are.

Since demanding the 60-cent mining rate, on November 1, the operators have advanced the price of coal in the market. This is admitted by Mr. Hadley in his testimony. Here in Columbus the price advanced from \$2.25 to \$2.50 per ton. The same advance was made at Toledo and other points, hence the rates which prevailed previous to the demand being made by us having changed, the price of mining should also change to a higher rate. The ability to sell at Chicago at fair profits, we admit, is not as great as they are here in Columbus. Their profits here are exceptionally large. Their coal costs them on board cars in this city, \$1.45; cost of delivery, 30 cents per ton, making \$1.75 in all. They sell at \$2.50 per ton, a profit of 75 cents. Their nut coal sells at \$2.25 per ton. This costs the operator nothing, simply because the miner is paid only for the lump coal which passes over the screen. By deducting 30 cents per ton for delivery, the operators have a profit of \$1.95 on every ton of nut coal sold in this city, or, as they get one ton of nut coal to every four (4) of lump, divide the \$1.95 which they receive for nut coal by four, which is the tons of lump; this gives 48¾ cents; add this to 75 cents and the operator gets \$1.23¾ per ton profit on all lump coal sold in this city.

The operators claim that the Wheeling Creek and the Wheeling and Lake Erie coal of this State are competitors of

theirs. This is true to a certain extent; yet those coals are of an inferior quality; they are much softer and will not stand handling, and because of this can not be sold to an advantage in distant markets. This difference has been recognized for years, and the miners of the Hocking and Ohio Central mines have been paid 10 cents in winter and $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents per ton in summer above the price paid to miners at Wheeling Creek and Wheeling and Lake Erie mines. At this time, however, the miners of Wheeling Creek are paid 50 cents, and will be paid 60 cents whenever the advance to that price is made in Hocking. The Wheeling and Lake Erie miners are working upon the advanced price, 60 cents, since November 1. If they can pay 60 cents with an inferior quality of coal, why can not that price be paid to Hocking and Ohio Central miners?

There are a large number of mines, located at different points in this State, now paying the advanced mining rates, and amongst them W. P. Rend, whose mines are located in the Hocking and Ohio Central districts. Mr. Rend is the largest individual operator of mines in those districts, and it is not supposed that he would operate his mines at a loss. We give Mr. Rend's letter to the *Ohio State Journal*, simply because his reasons for paying the advance is given clearly

"To the Editor of the *Ohio State Journal*:

"From an editorial in yesterday's issue of your paper, just shown me, I find that some one has misled and deceived you with false information as to my motives for granting the miners in my employ in the Hocking valley region the recent advance in their wages. My action in this matter was based entirely upon the two following reasons:

"First. Upon the perfect justice of the miners' demand.

"Second. Upon my ability to pay 60 cents per ton for their labor and earn reasonable profits during the fall and winter on the production of my mines.

"Whatever is for the true interests of the Hocking valley operators is for my interest, and I am using no coal from the Pittsburg or any other coal field to supplant or injure in any way any Hocking coal trade. It is my honest conviction and my friendly advice that this strike should be settled at once by granting the miners the fair standard wages for which they are now battling, on condition that they agree to make no further demand during the winter. These poor miners should be given a chance to live.

WILLIAM P. REND.

The miners of the Ohio Central and Hocking mines are credited with being able to produce a greater number of tons per miner than can be produced in other coal fields. This is

not the case, compared with the production of the Illinois and western Pennsylvania mines. It is true, however, that the miners in Hocking do not work as many days in the year, and the large tonnage produced by miners may be accounted for from the fact that should the mine only work fifteen days per month, the miners will work full time to prepare coal to be sent out when the mine works; hence, it is often the case that the miner sends out of the mine in fifteen days the coal he has worked to mine and load in twenty to twenty-five days. We give the average at three and one-half tons. This we are satisfied is full high, more than could be kept up steadily, yet we will allow four tons per day in making our estimate on the wages per day per miner. We found (see agreed statement of committee) that we had quoted the Pittsburg miners at three tons, when the operators of that district claim four as a day's average. The estimate of Illinois miners was not changed, while a letter from the manager of the block coal mines of Indiana places their production at from two and one-half to three tons. While at Pittsburg attending the conference of miners and mine operators, December 15, Mr. Jenne, the principal operator of those mines, stated in the presence of operators and miners (committee on resolutions), that three tons would be a fair average day's work for the miners. We will quote their production at two and three-fourths tons per day. This will give Pittsburg miners \$2.60 per day at their present price of 65 cents, four tons per day per miner; Illinois, three tons and 1,875 pounds per day, at $74\frac{1}{2}$ cents per ton, or $\$2.92\frac{1}{2}$; Indiana miners, two and three-fourths tons, at 80 cents per ton, \$2.20; Hocking miners, at 60 cents per ton, four tons per day, \$2.40. The miners of Indiana use no powder, the Hocking and other miners do, and must pay for all used. This will, at $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per ton, reduce the wages of Hocking miners to \$2.30, Illinois miners to \$2.83, and Pittsburg miners to \$2.50. This will make the average wages per day to miners of the three competing districts $\$2.54\frac{1}{3}$, a difference against the Hocking miner of $24\frac{1}{3}$ cents per day. The only district quoted below the average is Indiana, and if the full statement of Mr. Jenne was accepted, it, too, would be above the Hocking price. As to the mines of the Hocking district earning larger wages than the miners of other portions of Ohio, we would refer you to our statement taken from the report of the Commissioner of Labor Statistics for this State. Those quotations are based upon 70 and 80-cent mining rates. By referring to Mr. Walker's testimony, you will notice that the changing of freight charges by railroads either increases or diminishes the ability of operators to compete with each other. We are not responsible for

this, and it would be unfair, should the railroad companies see fit to advance freight rates to Chicago 25 cents per ton, to ask our miners to accept a reduction equally as great simply to enable Hocking operators to hold their trade in Chicago. The only fair method to find the ability of the different coal fields to compete is by ascertaining the cost of placing coal on board cars at the mines; in this the Hocking and Ohio Central have a decided advantage over their competitors. If freight rates are to be considered, then we should ascertain the nearest shipping point, by lake, from the different coal districts. In this, also, Hocking has the advantage. The ability of Hocking operators to place coal in Chicago has been wonderfully increased during two years; mining has been reduced 30 cents per ton, while freight rates have been reduced fully one-third. If freights advance and miners are forced to accept reduced mining rates, the miners' wages should advance when freight rates are reduced. This has not been the case. The reduction in our winter rate is 30 cents per ton during the past three years, while from the following report you will notice that Illinois miners have only been reduced 10 cents per ton during the same length of time:

(From the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1885.)

Average Prices Paid for Mining in Each District, and in the State, for the Years 1883, 1884, 1885.

Districts	Percentage of						
	1883		1884		1885		de- cline
	Summer Cents	Winter Cents	Summer Cents	Winter Cents	Summer Cents	Winter Cents	
First -----	88.4	93.4	85.4	93.2	84.5	87.8	.054
Second -----	95.4	99.8	95	1.03	90.7	95.8	.082
Third -----	80.3	91.1	81.4	90.3	78.5	82.9	.07
Fourth -----	65.8	73.6	63.5	72.4	59.8	63.1	.125
Fifth -----	58.6	65.5	54	63	47.9	52.8	.171
<hr/>							
The State -----	75.9	82.4	72.6	81.2	68.1	74.3	----
<hr/>							
The Year -----	80.2		78.3		71.5		10.8
For 4 Years-----							14.4

This shows an average decline in the State at large of 9 cents a ton, or 11 per cent, in the price paid for hand mining in three years. Assuming that the ratio of decline was the same for the four years including 1882, for which year the data is wanting, and we have a falling off equivalent to 15 per cent in even figures, for the term corresponding with that for which the average prices of coal is computed in the preceding table.

It should be borne in mind that these conclusions represent the experience of no one mine or locality, but the average experience of all mines and miners in the State, and that the figures given are equally removed from the highest and lowest.

It is a fact, moreover, familiar to every one, that a great diversity of condition is developed in different seams and places, so that the price paid per ton is not always a certain index of relative earnings.

This deduction of averages, however, is entirely legitimate for certain purposes, especially for instituting comparisons with other States and between different periods in the same State. The foregoing table, for instance, demonstrates and defines the downward tendency in all prices during the last four years, while they also indicate where the depression has been the greatest, and thus afford those who are endeavoring to solve the fiscal and solemn problems of the situation a clue to some causes and effects.

For a great number of years the price of mining in the three competing districts has ranged about as follows: Hocking, 70 cents in summer and 80 cents in winter; Pittsburg, 75 cents the year round; Indiana, block coal, 90 cents; see Illinois report for their average. Pittsburg is now 10 cents below former average. The great reduction in the latter district was brought about during the great strike of 1884; it was not justified by either competition or by the condition of the markets, but by the ability of the operators to force miners to accept terms offered them. We believe that the facts show the price of mining in Hocking and Ohio Central districts to be too low. Our estimates, you will notice, are all made at the 60-cent rate, the price asked by us. The experience of the past teaches that when any one large coal-producing district works at prices below their competitors, one of two results must follow—the low-priced district must rise to the level of their competitors, or the latter must come down.

In our judgment the prices paid miners are sufficiently low; there should be no reduction, and to prevent this the price of mining in the Hocking and Ohio Central districts should go up. This would put an end to sectional strife for advantage, restore stability to the coal trade, and add to the prosperity of all business connected with the mining industry.

From 1880 to 1883 the increase of coal shipments over the Hocking Valley Railroad was from 1,230,000 tons in 1880 to 2,850,000 tons in 1883. This increase was made at a time when Hocking operators were paying higher prices, in comparison to other districts, than they are doing now. This increase contradicts their statement that they were losing trade because of their high-priced mining.

This statement made by us as to the average tonnage per day per miner does not represent fairly the earnings of miners, except in so far as one day, one week, or one month is concerned. The miners in no district work regularly, and the report of the Ohio Bureau of Labor shows that we are the worst-paid craftsmen in the State. For seven years past we have not averaged \$6 per week. There is no danger of our becoming Vanderbilts on such earnings. The payrolls furnished by W. B. Brooks & Son and by Mr. Evans represent the two extremes, high and low wages.

In the price paid for dead work in the mines of W. B. Brooks & Son you will find another extreme which raises the cost of all others in the general average. Their mines belong to the Ohio Coal Exchange, and by referring to the statements of the Exchange you will notice that their average selling price of coal was only 76 cents per ton on board cars at the mines. The coal of W. B. Brooks & Son, at 50 cents for mining (the price now paid), 10 cents for royalty, and an average of 40½ cents for dead work, would cost them \$1.00½. The average business man would, in our judgment, quit the business rather than operate on such conditions.

We would also call your attention to the testimony of Mr. Corcoran, which is contradictory throughout. He states, however, that he would rather mine coal in the Pittsburg district than in the Hocking. The cost of dead work, as taken by the board, does not include original cost of plant and some other expense, but all districts are treated alike in the estimate made.

The operators have a decided advantage over miners in collecting information. They have agents in nearly all coal centers; those agents have made many statements to the board which we believe to be incorrect, but which we could not contradict. Time and means would not allow a thorough investigation. We found, however, that their statements as to freight rates from Pittsburg to Chicago being the same as from Hocking to Chicago were not correct. We have every reason to believe that operators in competing districts, whose coal costs more per ton for mining, dead work, royalty and freight than Hocking coal costs, would not sell their coal below the cost of production, and if prices quoted for competing coals are correct, they would be selling at a loss.

We believe that operators have a right to give their coal away, if they so desire, but we protest against their speculat-

ing at our expense. The question, however, is not what they sell for, but their comparative ability to sell.

On behalf of the miners, we are, respectfully yours,

JOHN MCBRIDE,
N. R. HYSELL,
ALEXANDER JOHNSON,
THOMAS P. JAMES,
CHRIS EVANS.

NOTE—The average of all coal in the two districts cost a fraction over $24\frac{1}{2}$ cents per ton for dead work. By mutual consent we have agreed to make it 25 cents per ton.

Operators' Argument.

The question herewith submitted is, can the operators of the Ohio Central and Hocking valley districts grant the request of the miners, and pay them an advance of 10 cents per ton for mining coal and still be able to meet competition and furnish their miners with work, making a reasonable profit for themselves?

In opening the testimony on behalf of the miners, Mr. McBride made the following statement:

“As we have claimed on behalf of the miners an advance of 10 cents per ton as due us, it is right and proper that we should show that this advance can be paid and still permit operators in these two districts to operate their mines and continue to hold their trade in the different markets as against their competitors of different States. In doing this it is necessary that we show the cost of producing coal in the different districts that are competitors, and compare it with the cost in these two districts where we are contending for an advance. It is necessary that we show the relative price at which these coals sell in the different markets, or in one of the principal markets. It is necessary to show you, in order to convince you of the justice of our claims, that it costs producers of other States more per ton to place on board cars than it does in these two districts. It is necessary to show that, under the existing prices at the present time, wages in the Ohio Central and Hocking districts are not upon a level with the wages paid to miners in their competing districts.”

Now, if it is necessary to show the existence of the above state of affairs in order to convince you of the justice of the claims made by the miners, I suppose it is fair to argue that a failure to so prove would show their claims to be unjust, and that they should not be granted.

What testimony has been presented tending even to prove the facts that, Mr. McBride claims, must be proven to establish his cause? It is comprised in a table prepared, as stated by Mr. McBride when offering it, from newspaper reports as to selling prices, and from all kinds of sources as to cost of production, but not a witness is put on the stand to testify as to his personal knowledge, nor does any one say that he visited the different districts for the purpose of gaining the information from the most reliable sources. Nevertheless, upon this table the cause was rested on the part of the miners. On the other hand, the operators put witnesses upon the stand to testify regarding prices in the districts competing with the Ohio Central and Hocking districts, who qualified by representing that they had just returned from the various points, after having visited them for the purpose of gaining direct information.

The testimony, as presented by the miners' table, and as stated by the operators' witnesses, differed materially, and in regard to matters of such importance that it was deemed necessary to appoint committees, consisting of miners and operators, whose duty it should be to go together into the different districts and report the true prices to the board. The result of this course confirmed the testimony of the operators on all important disputed points, as will appear as follows. The miners' table gave prices in the several districts as follows:

State	Mining	Royalty	Dead Work	Total
Illinois -----	70½	11¼	36¾	1.22½
Indiana -----	80	13½	37½	1.31
Pennsylvania -----	65	13	44¾	1.22¾
Hocking Valley -----	50	10	15	.75

Or an average cost, in the three districts competing with Hocking, of \$1.25. Now, the testimony of the operators' witnesses confirmed by the committees appointed by board of arbitration, and whose reports are part of the testimony submitted herewith, change the figures of the table as follows: The price of mining in Illinois to 50 cents instead of 74½; the cost of dead work in Pennsylvania to 25 cents instead of 44¾ cents; the cost of dead work in Ohio Central and Hocking to 25 cents instead of 15 cents, so that the table amended will read:

State	Mining	Royalty	Dead Work	Total
Illinois -----	50	11¼	36¾	.98
Indiana -----	80	13½	37½	1.31
Pennsylvania -----	65	13	25	1.03
Hocking -----	50	10	25	.85

Or an average cost, in the three districts competing with Hocking, of \$1.10.

To the total cost of coal in the Hocking district, as represented by this table, the miners add 10 cents, the advance asked, and make the total cost of coal in Hocking district 95 cents. There is nothing, however, to indicate any other or additional cost that would have to follow were the 10 cents advance granted to the miners. Yet who knows better than the miners themselves that an increase in day work inevitably follows an advance in mining. The members of the board of arbitration, in discussing whether or not it was necessary to submit testimony as to prices to be paid for work done by days' wages, agreed among themselves that an increased price of mining would necessarily carry an increase in such wages with it. Yet where in the table offered for comparison of costs do we find anything added to the Hocking dead work? The increase in cost of dead work caused by advancing mining 10 cents per ton, at a low estimate, would be 5 cents per ton, making the cost of coal at the advanced price \$1 per ton. Having thus disposed of the miners' table, as far as cost of production is concerned, let us examine it as to miners' earnings in the several competing districts. The miners' table is as follows:

State	Day's work, ton	Price, per ton	Daily earnings
Indiana -----	2½	80	\$2.00
Illinois -----	3.1875	74½	2.92
Pennsylvania -----	3	65	1.95
Hocking -----	3½	50	1.75

Showing a total rate of mining of \$2.69½; an average of wages per district, 67 cents per ton, or \$2.15 per day; Hocking below average mining rate per ton 17 cents, and below average day's earnings 40 cents. Let us now make the same amendment that we have made to their first table, and a further amendment as to the number of tons that an average miner will dig in the Hocking district, and we have the following result:

State	Day's work, ton	Price, per ton	Daily earnings
Indiana -----	2½	80	\$2.00
Illinois -----	3.1875	50	1.59
Pennsylvania -----	3	65	1.95
Hocking -----	4½	50	2.25

Showing a total rate of mining, \$2.45; an average of wages per district 61 cents per ton, or \$1.95 per day; Hocking below average rate per ton 11 cents, but above average day's earnings 30 cents.

Now, if the desire of the miner is to benefit himself, it would seem that it would be the actual earnings per day that should be compared, rather than the rate per ton. If this is true, we have but one remaining proposition to sustain, in order to prove that miners in the Hocking valley, working at 50 cents per ton can, in the same number of hours, earn more per day than in the competing districts. This proposition is the number of tons per day that an average miner can dig in the Hocking valley.

For the purpose of this argument I have assumed that four and one-half tons per day is a fair average for the entire two districts, and I will now endeavor to show that this is a fair, if not a low, estimate. The controversies between mine operators and their employes have been so frequent, and the men selected to act as arbitrators being all familiar with the business, much testimony, important now that the matter has gone to an umpire, was not introduced because of its familiarity. I shall not, therefore, deem it improper to draw upon testimony, taken in a similar attempt to reconcile difficulties in the same districts. I refer to testimony taken by the Hocking valley investigating committee, being a committee appointed by the last Legislature, and who took, and caused to be printed, a large amount of testimony last winter.

The operators at that time employed the services of a skillful miner and sent him into each mining district in Ohio to ascertain and report the thickness of the vein; the mesh of the screen; the proportion of nut and pea lump; the price of mining; the number of tons constituting an average day's work; the miner's expense and his daily earnings. This witness was presented to the investigating committee, and examined by Mr. Barger and such other members of the committee as desired to ask questions. His testimony will be found on page 289 of the report. The result of his investigations was tabulated and will be found on page 291 of said report, and also in the evidence submitted herewith. From this report you will observe that the Hocking district is divided into two sections—the lower part of the district being designated as Hocking, and the upper part as Straitsville and Shawnee—and the minimum thickness of vein given for each. For the former, six feet, and for the latter, eight feet. In the former five tons were given for the average day's work of an average miner, and in the latter, six tons. The testimony of the same witness (page 292) gives further explanation of the thickness of the coal vein in the Hocking district. The testimony of Owen Charles (page 319) puts the work of an average miner in Sand Run in this district at from seven to seven

and one-half tons per day. W. P. Rend (page 24) puts the average at four and one-half tons per day.

Now this subject (thickness of vein) has much to do with the price of mining, for it is very easy to understand that the same undercut has to be made under a three-foot vein of coal as under a nine-foot, and that a blast in the one will bring down three times as much coal as in the other, and that the additional labor to produce this two-thirds increase of coal is merely the loading into the bank cars. It is also a fact that in the high veins the miner gets more lump coal and it makes proportionately less nut than in the veins where it is not so high, so that there is less loss to the miner in the larger veins than in the smaller.

Another item that enters largely into the price of mining is the screen over which the coal passes. The standard screen in the Hocking valley is one and one-fourth inches between the bars, and all coal that passes over this screen is designated as lump coal and is the grade for which the miner is paid. What passes through the screen is nut coal and slack. These grades are not paid for. There is another grade of coal mentioned in the testimony known as pea coal. This is produced from slack by re-screening it with expensive machinery. It is produced only to accommodate a certain class of trade, and the cost of its production nearly, if not quite, equals its market value. The nut coal is merchantable and commands a price about equal to one-half the price of lump at the mines. The slack in the Ohio Central and Hocking districts is comparatively worthless, having no merchantable value at any distance from the mines, and can not be coked.

The proportion of coal that passes over these one and one-quarter inch screens, and for which the miner is paid, is four-fifths of the entire output, the remaining one-fifth being about equally divided between nut and slack. In western Pennsylvania, the greatest competitor of these districts, the screen is one and one-half inches mesh and but three-fifths of the coal mined is lump for which the miner is paid, and the two-fifths of nut and slack for which the miner is not paid. In addition to this the nut coal is necessarily larger, more merchantable, and commands a better price; the slack is also of a better quality that makes good blacksmith coal, cokes well, and is a valuable asset to the operator. From the above it will be readily seen that the miner in the Ohio Central and Hocking districts is paid for one-fifth more of his entire output than the miner in Pennsylvania, and the Pennsylvania operator has, in the same way, a large advantage over the Hocking operator.

In order to show that the price per ton is not the true method of equalizing earnings, I wish to call your attention

to the value of screenings, or nut and slack, produced over the Pennsylvania one and one-half inch screen. As has already been shown, the nut in the Hocking district is one-tenth of the output, and is worth at mines, say 50 cents per ton; the slack is worthless. In Pennsylvania the nut is one-fifth of the output, and is worth 75 cents at the mines, while the slack that is not sold is coked at an expense of 35 cents per ton, when it becomes worth \$1.20 per ton, thus showing a net advantage of \$1.10 on each ton of nut and slack produced over the Hocking operator, while the mining of the same number of tons of lump produces double the quantity of these products. The same is true in the Eastern Ohio districts, and when these facts are taken into consideration, in connection with the foregoing table of costs, it is very easy to see that the Hocking valley pays a much larger per cent of total output and derives small comparative advantage from the coal not paid for to the miner.

The principal competitor of the Ohio Central and Hocking valley districts is western Pennsylvania; next, eastern Ohio; next, Indiana block coal, and least of all probably the shaft-mined coal of Illinois. Chicago, Detroit and the lakes are probably the great markets for all, and principal among these Chicago. Western Pennsylvania is the largest producer of our competitors, and in consequence deserves the most attention at our hands. This coal in the market is considered to be worth from 25 to 30 cents per ton more than Hocking valley; still, it is freely sold in the Chicago market at from \$2.85 to \$3 per ton. Now the Hocking coal, as you have seen from what has gone before, costs the operator for mining and dead work 85 cents at the mines. The rate to Chicago is \$2 per ton, so that the net cost of labor and freight on a ton of Hocking coal at Chicago, allowing nothing for expense of doing business, depreciation of plant or for profit, is \$2.85. Now suppose Pennsylvania to be selling at \$3 per ton; to compete our coal must be sold at \$2.75 at best. Now you will ask, how can Pennsylvania do this when the cost of her coal has been shown to be \$1.03 at the mines and the freight rate of \$2.25, making a net cost at Chicago of \$3.28. My answer is, she makes it good in the large advantage she has in her screens. Pennsylvania can sell every pound of lump coal she pays her miners for at net cost and make money out of nut and slack.

Hocking must make her money out of what she pays for. You will observe that, although Pittsburg is 193 miles further from Chicago than our mines, still the freight rate is but 25 cents higher. Within the last thirty days, so Mr. Walker testifies before your board, he was offered Pennsylvania coal

delivered at Chicago for \$2.82½; Mr. Corcoran testifies that he was offered Pennsylvania coal within two weeks, in any quantity, at 85 cents at mines. Now what are the facts as to the extent of this competition? In 1884 the shipments from Pittsburg to Chicago were 155,189 tons; in 1885 they were 209,050 tons, showing an increase, even under our present rate of mining, of 53,861 tons. It certainly seems clear that with a higher rate of mining we must abandon Chicago as a market, although that trade during the past year has produced a tonnage for our valley of 142,094 tons, and paid to our miners \$50,000 of their earnings. Without doubt Mr. McBride in his argument will call your attention to the fact that the Hocking valley also shows a large increased tonnage in the Chicago market in the year 1885 over that of 1884. But it is to be remembered in this connection that the tonnage of the Hocking valley in the year 1884 was affected by a strike of seven months' duration, and while its tonnage was largely reduced thereby the tonnage of competing districts was largely increased in that year from the same causes.

During the summer months we are in active competition for the lake trade. Our ports are at Sandusky and Toledo, with a railroad haul of about 200 miles; theirs at Erie and Ashtabula, with not to exceed 138 miles haul, and once at the port lake freights for all points on Lakes Michigan, Ontario or Superior are the same from Toledo or Erie; thus it will be evident that we are compelled to meet the Pennsylvania coal at all seasons and in all markets.

The Wheeling and Lake Erie and Wheeling Creek coals are also strong competitors with Ohio Central and Hocking districts. These coals have been mined during the past season at 40 to 50 cents, although the price has been recently advanced to 60 cents. These districts have the same advantage as Pittsburg as to coking the slack.

The Indiana block coal is also a competing coal in Chicago, but we do not meet it on the lakes or in Canadian trade. It is a hard coal, and many consumers, where it is known, will pay as much for it as Hocking. Although this coal costs more on board cars than any of the competing coals, still the short haul to Chicago enables it to be sold for \$2.25 to \$2.30 per ton. To show what inroads it is making in that market it is sufficient to say that in the year 1884 there was sold in Chicago of Indiana block coal 234,947 tons; in 1885, 409,568 tons, or an increase of 174,621 tons.

The Illinois coal has but little more than held its own in the Chicago market, and sells at a very much lower price than any of the competing coals and is of an inferior grade.

The large contracts for coal are generally taken in the spring and summer and are usually for the period of one year. That which is to be shipped by lake is, of course, delivered by November 1, but rail contracts are distributed through all the months. These contracts it is necessary for companies having a large number of men employed to take in order to insure employment for the men, and are always taken at very close figures. We have many such contracts based on 50-cent mining that we will be compelled to fill, regardless of any change in price, and can not do so save at a loss should an advance be granted.

The view we take of this question is that operators and miners are mutually interested in a large tonnage for our district, and that the miner will make greater earnings if the tonnage is sufficient to furnish him with four or five days' work each week at 50 cents per ton than he would at 60 cents per ton with but two or three days' work. In other words, if the operator can not sell his coal for what it costs him he won't dig it.

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK W. MERRICK.

Umpire's Decision.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, January 7, 1886.

To Messrs. John Brashears, J. S. Morton, J. B. Hamilton, David Patterson, F. W. Merrick, John McBride, N. R. Hy-sell, Alexander Johnson, Thomas P. James and Christopher Evans, Arbitrators Chosen by the Coal Operators and Miners in the Ohio Central and Hocking Valley Districts:

Gentlemen—Having at your request consented to act as umpire upon the question on which you disagree, Messrs. McBride and Merrick, on your behalf, on the 28th ult. sent me a statement of the question as follows:

“Columbus, Ohio, December 28, 1885.

“Hon. A. G. Thurman, Columbus, Ohio:

“Dear Sir—The question of the price in mining in the Ohio Central and Hocking valley districts has been in dispute between the operators and miners since the beginning of the strike, June 23, 1884. From the close of that strike until November 1, 1885, the price paid has been 50 cents per ton. On the first day of November, 1885, the miners struck for 60 cents per ton, being an advance of 10 cents per ton. The operators declined to pay it, and stated that they were unable to do so and sell their coal, meeting present competition, without great loss.

"On the 23d day of November, 1885, the operators and miners agreed to submit the matter to the arbitration of ten men, five to be selected by each party, and in the event of their failure to agree, they to select an eleventh man, who was to act as umpire and decide the matter. The question, as we understand it, being: Can the operators of the two districts pay the advance asked and compete with other districts?"

"Very respectfully,

"JOHN MCBRIDE.

"F. W. MERRICK."

They have also submitted to me the testimony taken by you, accompanied by their written arguments.

I have given to this subject the most careful consideration that I could bestow upon it, and have arrived at a conclusion that I will proceed to state. Before doing so, however, it is proper, in justice to all concerned and to myself, to say that I have been much embarrassed by what seems to me a material defect of proofs. The testimony taken is very valuable as far as it goes, but I can not but think that proof is wanting upon several points. But as I understand the duties of an umpire, I can look only at the testimony that was before you and has been submitted to me, and to other facts of such historical or general notoriety that courts ex-officio take notice of them, and which, therefore, you are presumed to have considered.

I shall not in this paper go into detailed examination or statement of the testimony. It is unnecessary to do so. My duty is simply to decide. To make elaborate arguments is no part of it. It is sufficient for me to say that I have carefully read and re-read the evidence, and believe that I understand and remember it. The question under consideration is thus stated in the letter of Messrs. McBride and Merrick: "The question, as we understand it, being: Can the operators of the two districts pay the advance asked and compete with other districts?" The form of this question seems plainly to imply that the wage demanded by the miners is not unreasonable if the operators can pay it and compete with other districts. If they can do so, then it seems to be admitted that it ought to be paid. If they can not do so, then it seems to be taken for granted that it must be denied. The question is thus limited to an inquiry into the effect that an advance in wages, such as is demanded, would have on the power of the mining districts under consideration "to compete with other districts." What are the "other districts" here referred to? The question does not state. Of course all the mining districts of the United States are not meant, for that would be an absurd supposition. There are districts with which yours can

not possibly compete in various districts, and which on the other hand can not possibly compete with yours in what may be called your markets. It seems to me that in order to ascertain what are the "other districts" referred to in the question we must inquire what are the natural markets, so to speak, of the Ohio Central and Hocking valley districts? By "natural markets" I mean those places in which the coals of those two districts can be sold at prices that will pay fair wages to the miners and a reasonable profit to the operators. Other places can not properly be called natural markets for these coals. A market may, indeed, be forced for a time in another place by a reduction of miners' wages or operators' profits, or both; but such an experiment must, in the nature of things, if carried so far as to deprive the miners of fair wages or the operators of reasonable profits, be abnormal and, in the end, intolerable.

Now with this idea of what constitutes a natural market, let us ask what is the natural market of the Ohio Central and Hocking valley districts? It may at once and safely be answered that a large portion of Ohio affords such a market. It has also been found outside of this State, but to what extent or with what profit it is not clearly shown by the testimony.

Mr. Merrick, in his argument, lays great stress on Chicago and regards it as the principal market. Mr. McBride thinks that we should rather look to the markets at "that point at which each of the coals of the different districts reaches Lake Erie as a fair basis to estimate their ability to compete with each other." I think that we should look at all places that afford the miners in question a natural market.

Now considering the fact stated in the testimony, the amount of coals annually mined and the length of time that the trade has been carried on, it seems to me to be fairly inferable that the business must have been, on the whole, a profitable one. Of course, like every other kind of industry, it is subject to periods of depression; but it is difficult to conceive why it should be carried on at all if it involves a certain loss to the capitalist. And referring to the wages now and heretofore paid for mining in these and other districts, I can not see how an advance of 10 cents per ton in miners' wages would necessarily deprive the operators of reasonable profits, much less put an end to his business. In short, I think that the natural market of the two districts named will be retained, even if the price of mining be advanced to 60 cents, and that such an advance would still leave to the operators reasonable profits.

My decision, therefore, is that the operators of the two districts can pay the advance asked (viz., 60 cents per ton) and compete with the other districts.

Respectfully submitted,

A. G. THURMAN.

CHAPTER XV.

PITTSBURG JOINT CONFERENCE OPERATORS AND MINERS, 1885.

On December 15, 1885, as per joint circular call issued in November, the joint conference between operators and miners was called to order by Chris Evans in the select council chamber, Municipal Hall, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.

Mr. Evans in opening the meeting gave a brief resume of the work done at the conference held at Chicago, Illinois, October 16 and 17, after which an organization was effected by the election of A. L. Sweet, operator, chairman, and Chris Evans, miner, secretary.

On calling the roll the following operators and miners were found present:

Illinois Operators—A. L. Sweet, Chicago, Wilmington and Vermillion Coal Company; F. H. McClure, Grape Creek Coal and Coke Company; W. P. Rend, Chicago, Pittsburg and Hocking Valley.

Indiana Operators—D. J. Jenne, Brazil Block Coal Company; J. L. Stevens, Stevens Coal Mining Company; J. Smith Talley, Coal Bluff Mining Company.

Pennsylvania Operators—William A. McIntosh, New York and Cleveland Gas Coal Company; N. F. Sandford, Sandford & Co., Essen & Co.; N. P. Ramsey, Chartiers and Cleveland Coal Company; Samuel I. Wood, John A. Wood & Co., Monongahela River; D. B. Blackburn, O. A. Blackburn & Co., Monongahela, Pennsylvania.

Ohio Operators—David Patterson, Ohio Coal Exchange; J. E. Waters and A. J. Baggs, Pittsburgh and Wheeling Coal Company; J. F. Sterling and Thomas Corcoran, Ohio Central Coal Company.

West Virginia Operators — John Banister, Cedar Grove Mining Company.

Illinois Miners—Daniel McLaughlin, Braidwood, and David Ross, LaSalle.

Indiana Miners—Patrick McAdams and George Snowden.

Ohio Miners—John McBride, Massillon; Chris Evans, New Straitsville; D. H. Davis, Mineral Ridge.

Pennsylvania Miners—John Britt, DuBois; Richard Davis, Michael Pendergast, Patrick McBryde, Shire Oaks.

Iowa Miners—A. M. Reid.

West Virginia Miners—J. B. Fleming, Peabody.

Maryland Miners—John A. Martin.

Col. W. P. Rend, having presided at the Chicago conference, was called upon for remarks on the situation and said:

This movement originated with coal miners. We were invited to convene with the miners at Chicago. We accepted the invitation and we shook the hand of friendship with them. We are here to do the same. I congratulate you, gentlemen, on this convention of peace, which will mark an era in the history of the coal interests of the country. We have come here to substitute for strikes and lockouts an intelligent method of adjustment. One hundred thousand men are represented here. They are intently gazing upon this convention, hoping that we will establish labor arbitration. That is a blessing which will give them more adequate rewards for their work. Capital is here also represented. Our chairman employs 7,000 men. Some of the largest mine owners in all coal States of the Union are here. But we have come here as fellow men, who will be just to one another, engaged as we are in a common industry. If we show the country that we can adjust our difficulties by arbitration, others will follow our example.

Colonel Rend said:

Labor conquers everything, but capital is an essential to bringing about such a result. The two produce the wealth of the world. Labor says capital claims more of this wealth than is its due. Capital accuses labor, on the other hand, of trying to force it over the precipice. Generally both are wrong, both interests suffer, and this is what must be adjusted. The principal reason for the difficulty is competition among operators, who try to undersell each other. The remedy would be to

raise the price of mining reasonably in all coal fields and raise the price of coal accordingly.

In closing Mr. Rend made this significant statement:

Let these prices be fixed by a joint committee of miners and operators.

The thirteen words above expressed by Coal Operator W. P. Rend explain fully the foremost cause for the inauguration of the joint movement between operators and miners, and the manner in which they were received bore testimony of good effect.

With other operators that participated in the discussions that followed, David Patterson, representing the Ohio Coal Exchange, made some extended remarks on capital and labor, closing with the statement "that it was his opinion that resolutions adopted by this meeting might not be accepted as binding by operators not represented."

For these reasons no general action was taken at the Pittsburg conference on the price question.

Resolutions were introduced, committees selected and friendly speeches made by operators and miners, all tending to show a deep interest in the joint movement advocated.

John McBride, for the miners, offered a scale of prices prepared by them for consideration, as follows:

Scale of Prices.

Pittsburg-----	2¾ cents per bushel, or 71	cents per ton
Hocking Valley -----	60	cents per ton
Indiana Block -----	80	cents per ton
Indiana Bituminous, No. 1-----	65	cents per ton
Indiana Bituminous, No. 2-----	75	cents per ton
Wilmington, Illinois -----	95	cents per ton
Streator -----	80	cents per ton
Grape Creek -----	75	cents per ton
Mount Olive -----	56½	cents per ton
Staunton -----	56½	cents per ton
Springfield -----	62½	cents per ton
Des Moines, Iowa -----	90	cents per ton
Reynoldsville, Fairmont, screen coal----	71	cents per ton
At West Virginia, the Kanawha district reduced prices to be restored to 75 cents per ton.		

The sentiments generally expressed were strongly in favor of the object sought, but the operators were not yet ready to act on the scale presented.

*By the labor neg. wanted to
get rid of labor problem.
The problem was not solved.*

It was finally agreed to waive the matter for the time being and discuss the scale of prices introduced at a joint meeting to be held at Columbus, Ohio, February 23, 1886, with the hope that both sides will be fully represented, and the joint conference adjourned.

A. L. SWEET, Chairman.

CHRIS EVANS, Secretary.

Later—At a meeting of the operators held at the Monongahela House, Pittsburg, Joseph Walton of Pennsylvania, D. J. Jenne of Indiana, F. H. McClure of Illinois and J. F. Sterling of Ohio were appointed a committee to prepare an address to all coal operators on the work done at the Pittsburg convention. Operators were also appointed and advised to call conventions in their respective States to elect delegates to the interstate convention at Columbus, Ohio, as follows: Indiana, D. J. Jenne, J. S. Talley, J. L. Stevenson; Ohio, J. F. Sterling, H. A. Baggs, David Patterson; Pennsylvania, Joseph Walton, O. A. Blackburn, Roger Hartley, William A. McIntosh, N. P. Ramsey; West Virginia, John Bannister, Neal Robinson, J. G. W. Tomkins; Iowa, Daniel Wightman, who was given the power to appoint as many as he wished to assist him, in procuring delegates to attend.

The miners' executive board of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers requested Richard Davis, state secretary of the western Pennsylvania miners, to call a convention of the railroad miners of western Pennsylvania for the purpose of taking action on the scale of prices presented to the joint meeting of operators and miners, and to select representatives to meet with the operators at Columbus, Ohio, February 23, 1886.

The executive secretary of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers was instructed to issue a call for a joint meeting of the miners of Ohio, western Pennsylvania, Indiana and northern Illinois, and extend an invitation to the miners of the Kanawha, Monongahela, Youghiogheny, and any other points on the Ohio river, to be held at Columbus, Ohio, February 26, 1886, with a view of organizing the competing mines of railroad and river into districts.

All eyes were now centered on the coming conference be-

tween operators and miners. Was it possible that strikes and lockouts were going to be set aside, to be substituted by a conciliated friendship between the employer and the employed? The answer to these queries can be better understood in their original form, no matter how plausible the result of their deliberations may otherwise appear. A full text of the joint action of these two great contending forces follows:

CHAPTER XVI.

MINUTES OF THE JOINT CONVENTION OF OPERATORS AND MINERS, FEBRUARY 23 AND 24, 1886.

Pursuant to call, the joint national convention of coal operators and miners assembled in the City Hall at Columbus, Ohio, February 23, 1886, and was called to order at 10:15 a. m. by Mr. Walter Crafts of Columbus, Ohio.

Mr. Christopher Evans of Ohio was unanimously elected chairman of the convention. In a brief address he reviewed the several steps taken which had resulted in the calling of the convention, and after pointing out the common injury sustained by strikes, expressed a hope that an honest effort would be made to carry out the purpose for which the convention was called.

Mr. F. H. McClure of Illinois and Colonel Sterling of Ohio were successively nominated for the office of secretary of the convention, but both declined to serve, and E. T. Bent of Illinois was elected.

Upon motion a joint committee of four operators and four miners was appointed to report on credentials of delegates. The gentlemen comprising this committee were as follows:

Coal Operators—Indiana, D. J. Jenne; Ohio, Oscar Townsend; Illinois, F. H. McClure; Pennsylvania, J. J. Steytler.

Coal Miners—Indiana, William McKinley; Ohio, W. H. Bassett; Illinois, John McLaughlin; Pennsylvania, John Costello.

A recess of thirty minutes was then taken to enable this committee to prepare their report.

Upon the convention being called to order the committee upon credentials reported that the following gentlemen were, in their opinion, entitled to representation, viz.:

Pennsylvania Coal Operators—New York and Cleveland Gas Company; William A. McIntosh. Saw Mill Run Mines:

Roger Hartley. Mansfield Coal and Coke Company: Daniel Reisinger. Youghiogheny Coal Company: J. J. Steytler. National Coal Company: Ed Fisher. Laurel Hill Mines: W. P. Rend.

Ohio Coal Operators—Hocking Valley, Ohio Central and Shawnee district: Walter Crafts, Colonel Sterling, L. R. Doty, David Patterson, F. S. Brooks, W. B. Brooks, John S. Morton, H. C. Stanwood, Thomas Cochran, C. L. Poston, G. G. Hadley, John Dertheck, H. D. Turney, Edward Johnson, Joseph Slater, George Hardy, W. P. Rend, L. C. Steenrod, F. S. Barnes. Massillon: A. Howells, J. K. Merwin, James Mullens. Mineral Point: C. E. Holden, J. K. Merwin. Tuscarawas Valley: P. Foster, W. H. Groat. Wheeling Creek: Oscar Townsend, James Patterson. Coshocton county, District No. 9: F. N. Barnes, David Davis, F. C. Goff. Salineville: D. McGarry, Morrison Foster, J. A. Anderson. Cambridge: J. A. Anderson. Jackson county, District No. 7: Isaac Brown, H. S. Willard, H. L. Chapman, S. J. Patterson, Eben Jones, E. T. Jones, M. L. Sternberger, Ira Sternberger, Elias Crandall, J. H. Price, J. D. Whitmore, J. R. Hipple, J. J. McKellenark, J. T. Hall, H. S. Bundy, W. L. Caten, J. J. C. Evans, Theodore Fluhart, Amos Smith. Columbiana county: J. A. Mullens.

Indiana Coal Operators—Brazil Block Coal Company, Brazil: D. J. Jenne, H. W. Perry. Island Coal Company, Indianapolis: S. N. Yeoman. Coal Bluff Coal and Mining Company, Terre Haute: J. S. Talley. Parke County Coal Company, Terre Haute: J. R. Kendall. Norton Creek Coal and Mining Company, Clinton: C. P. Walker. Jackson Coal and Mining Company, Brazil: M. A. Johnson. Parke County Coal Company, Rosedale: Joseph Martin. Coal Bluff Coal and Mining Company, Terre Haute: R. S. Tennant.

Illinois Coal Operators—Wilmington Coal Association, Chicago: A. L. Sweet. LaSalle County Carbon Coal Company and Illinois Valley Coal Company, LaSalle: F. O. Wyatt. Streator Coal Association, Streator: J. C. Campbell. Chicago and Minonk Coal and Coke Company, Minonk: M. T. Ames. Star Coal Company, Streator: John Kangley. Grape Creek Coal and Coke Company, Chicago: F. H. McClure. Oglesby Coal Company, Oglesby: E. T. Bent.

Pennsylvania Coal Miners—Saw Mill Run: John Stobie. Mansfield: W. Barker. Shireoaks: J. W. Hindmarsh. Pittsburgh: John Costello. Du Bois: John Britt.

Ohio Coal Miners—Straitsville: Christopher Evans. Wadsworth: W. H. Bassett. Straitsville: J. H. Taylor. Coalton: V. E. Sullivan. Corning: J. Nelson. Byesville: G. Harrison. Coalton: W. Richardson. Franklin: C. E. Cherry.



(1886).—Top row, left to right—James Nelson, Corning, O.; J. H. Taylor, Straitsville, O.; George Harrison, Evesville, O.; John McBride, Massillon, O.; N. R. Hysell, Corning, O.; John Britt, DuBois, Pa.
 Bottom row, left to right—Patrick McCall, Streator, Ills.; Chris Evans, Straitsville, O.; John McLaughlin, LaSalle, Ills.; Dan. McLaughlin, Braidwood, Ills.; Wm. H. Bassett, Wadsworth, O.

Salineville: J. McKee. Wellston: D. A. Thomas. Massillon: J. McBride. Corning: N. R. Hysell.

Indiana Coal Miners—Knightsville: M. D. Gray. Harmony: J. Dalley. Carbon: H. H. Hagerty. Brazil: William McKinley. Linton: W. Hamilton. Coal Bluff: Joseph Dunkerly. Coal Creek: William Vanicka. Clinton: James McGovin. State Representatives: P. McAdams. Cardonia: Philip H. Penna.

Illinois Coal Miners—Braidwood: Daniel McLaughlin, R. McKennan. Streator: P. McCall. Braceville: T. Armstrong. Springfield: C. Maddox. LaSalle: John McLaughlin. Grape Creek: J. Connelly.

Maryland and West Virginia Coal Miners—Coal Valley, West Virginia: Foster Hart. Peabody, West Virginia: J. B. Fleming. District No. 3, Maryland and West Virginia: Edward Hughes.

The report of the committee was accepted by the convention, which then adjourned to reassemble at 2 p. m.

The convention reconvened at 2:30 p. m.

Authority was given the secretary to answer the following telegram in the affirmative:

“WHEELING, WEST VIRGINIA, February 23, 1886.

“Coal Operators’ Convention:

“Want representation in convention. Can leave immediately. Are we in time? Answer.

MANCHESTER COAL COMPANY.

Mr. Oscar Townsend of Ohio offered the following resolution:

“That a committee of two from each State, as follows: W. A. McIntosh and John Costello of Pennsylvania, S. N. Yeoman and William McKinley of Indiana, J. C. Campbell and Daniel McLaughlin of Illinois and Daniel McGarry and George Harrison of Ohio, be appointed to submit a report on the order of business to guide this convention.”

After some discussion the resolution was adopted.

The following was offered by Mr. Morrison Foster of Ohio:

“Resolved, That one operator and one miner from each State be appointed as a committee to submit to the convention a basis of representation.”

To this considerable opposition was manifested, the Illinois delegates claiming that no basis of representation could be accepted by them in behalf of the State, as they could only vote in the name of their respective companies or districts.

Mr. Sweet of Illinois said that he did not feel competent to say whether Ohio, or any other State, should accept the Pittsburg scale; but as a delegate he could say whether a part (his part) of Illinois would accept it. The resolution was finally adopted and the following gentlemen were appointed to serve upon the committee: Roger Hartley and William Parker of Pennsylvania, Oscar Townsend and N. R. Hysell of Ohio, R. S. Tennant and Morris D. Gray of Indiana, and F. H. McClure and Thomas Armstrong of Illinois.

A recess of thirty minutes was next taken to enable the two committees to perform their duties.

Upon again coming to order the following report was submitted by the committee on order of business:

"Your committee, appointed to report on order of business for the convention, beg leave to recommend that the order of business be as follows, viz.: (1) Fixing a basis of representation. (2) Consideration of the scale of prices submitted at Pittsburg. (3) Final adjournment.

"Respectfully submitted,
WILLIAM A. MCINTOSH, Chairman."

The report was accepted and the committee discharged.

The committee upon basis of representation reported as follows:

"Your committee to report upon a basis of representation beg leave to submit the following report: We recommend that each of the States of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania be entitled to eight votes, four to be cast by miners and four by operators.

OSCAR TOWNSEND, Chairman."

Upon the motion to accept this report a lively debate ensued, Messrs. Costello, Steenrod, McBride, Tennant, Campbell, Sweet and others participating. The report was finally accepted and the committee discharged.

By request the Pittsburg scale was read, as follows:

Pittsburg-----	2¾ cents per bushel, or 71	cents per ton
Hocking Valley-----	60	cents per ton
Indiana Block-----	80	cents per ton
Indiana Bituminous, No. 1-----	65	cents per ton
Indiana Bituminous, No. 2-----	75	cents per ton
Wilmington, Illinois-----	95	cents per ton
Streator-----	80	cents per ton
Grape Creek-----	75	cents per ton
Mount Olive-----	56½	cents per ton
Staunton-----	56½	cents per ton
Springfield-----	62½	cents per ton
Des Moines, Iowa-----	90	cents per ton
Reynoldsville, Fairmont, screen coal-----	71	cents per ton
At West Virginia the Kanawha district reduced prices to be restored to 75 cents per ton.		

These prices to rule from May, 1886, to May, 1887.

Mr. John McLaughlin of Illinois inquired if LaSalle, Illinois, was not included in the scale, to which Mr. Wyatt of Chicago replied that it was not, as no LaSalle operators were represented at Pittsburg. He stated, however, that he should advance his miners next year in proportion to the advance made at Streator.

It was moved and seconded that the Pittsburg scale be adopted by the delegates present.

To this an amendment was offered by Mr. McClure of Illinois that the representatives of each State should submit a scale of prices which they would accept in order to correct any errors which might exist in the Pittsburg scale. This was also seconded, but a point of order was raised by Mr. Morrison Foster of Ohio that the amendment of Mr. McClure conflicted with the rule or order of business which confined the convention to the consideration of the Pittsburg scale. The objection of Mr. Foster was sustained, and the chair ruled the amendment out of order.

Thereupon Mr. Daniel McLaughlin of Illinois offered an amendment that Mt. Olive, Staunton and Springfield works be left out of the Pittsburg scale, for the reason that the operators at these three points had neither representation at Pittsburg nor at Columbus. This received a second from Mr. Sweet of Illinois.

Mr. Costello of Pittsburg then offered a second amendment, that the original motion and its amendment be referred to a committee consisting of two miners and two operators from each State, to be revised by them and the result reported to the convention. This was also seconded.

Mr. Tennant of Indiana then moved that both amendments be tabled and the original motion be acted upon.

These conflicting motions provoked much heated debate, and certain existing questions between different districts began to assume serious proportions. In the hope of reconciling these issues Mr. McBride of Ohio moved an adjournment till 9:30 a. m. of succeeding day, which was hastily carried.

The convention was called to order, as per appointment, at 9:30 a. m., February 24, 1886.

After an address by the chairman and another by Colonel Rend of Ohio, the consideration of the motions and amendments before the house when it adjourned the previous evening was taken up.

With the consent of the convention Mr. Tennant of Indiana withdrew his motion to table the two amendments to the original motion.

*play one more game with
pallards*

A motion that Messrs. P. L. Kimberly and D. R. Brooks of Wheeling, West Virginia, be given seats in the convention, as coal operators, was carried, as well as one giving the State of West Virginia the same representation as other States in this convention.

A vote was then taken by States upon the second amendment, which resulted as follows:

	Ayes.	Noes.
Pennsylvania—Operators -----		4 votes.
Pennsylvania—Miners -----	1 vote.	3 votes.
Ohio—Operators -----		4 votes.
Ohio—Miners -----		4 votes.
Indiana—Operators -----		4 votes.
Indiana—Miners -----		4 votes.
Illinois—Operators -----	1 vote.	3 votes.
Illinois—Miners -----		4 votes.
West Virginia—Operators -----		4 votes.
West Virginia—Miners -----		4 votes.

There being thirty-eight votes against referring to a committee and two for so doing.

The first amendment was then voted upon by States and carried unanimously.

Mr. P. L. Kimberly of West Virginia offered an amendment that the mines located upon the Wheeling, Pittsburg & Baltimore railroad be included in the Pittsburg district. The motion was seconded.

After a recess of ten minutes a vote was taken as to whether the original question as amended be now put. It resulted as follows:

	Ayes.	Noes.
Pennsylvania—Operators -----		4 votes.
Pennsylvania—Miners -----	4 votes.	-----
Ohio—Operators -----	4 votes.	-----
Ohio—Miners -----	4 votes.	-----
Indiana—Operators -----	4 votes.	-----
Indiana—Miners -----		4 votes.
Illinois—Operators -----	3 votes.	1 vote.
Illinois—Miners -----	4 votes.	-----
West Virginia—Operators -----	4 votes.	-----
West Virginia—Miners -----	4 votes.	-----

A vote of thirty-one for and nine against.

Mr. McClure of Illinois was ruled out of order on an amendment to change the price to be paid by Grape Creek in the Pittsburg scale from 75 to 70 cents per ton. Mr. Sweet of Illinois stated that should this change be made the should pay only 70 cents also, and he believed his men would support him in his position. Mr. McClure entered his most earnest protest against the action of the convention.

Mr. Penna of Indiana wished to inquire whether the price given for Indiana block coal in the Pittsburg scale was a minimum price, or whether it was both minimum and maximum, and said that the miners understood it to be simply the minimum. The chair stated that in his opinion it was the minimum price. Mr. Tennant of Indiana stated that the 80-cent price applied to all Indiana block coal, and was both minimum and maximum.

Mr. Daniel McLaughlin of Illinois stated that the price given for Indiana at the Pittsburg convention was only the minimum price and was based upon a four-foot vein of coal.

To this Mr. Jenne of Indiana replied that he was a member of the committee at Pittsburg, and that no delegate there said that the 80-cent price was any other than a fixed price, and that it was not there claimed by any one that it was for a four-foot vein or that it was based upon any such standard whatsoever. The discussion ended in a call for the original question to be put, upon which the vote stood as follows:

	Ayes.	Noes.
Pennsylvania—Operators -----	4 votes	----
Pennsylvania—Miners -----	4 votes	----
Ohio—Operators -----	4 votes	----
Ohio—Miners -----	4 votes	----
Indiana—Operators, as a fixed price for Indiana Block----	4 votes	----
Indiana—Miners, as a minimum price for Indiana Block---	4 votes	----
Illinois—Operators -----	3 votes	1 vote
Illinois—Miners -----	4 votes	----
West Virginia—Operators -----	4 votes	----
West Virginia—Miners -----	4 votes	----

Ayes, 39; noes, 1.

Convention then adjourned to 2 p. m.

The convention was again called to order at 2 p. m. The chair stated that under the rules the convention could do nothing but adjourn, except by suspension of such rules. Thereupon the following was offered by Mr. Morrison Foster, of Ohio:

“Resolved, That this convention adjourn finally at 4 p. m., city time.”

The motion carried.

Mr. John McBride, of Ohio, offered the following.

“Resolved, That a board of arbitration and conciliation, consisting of five (5) miners and five (5) operators at large, and one (1) miner and one (1) operator from each of the coal producing States represented in the scale, be elected by this convention, and that all questions of an inter-State or national

character be submitted to this board for adjustment. And that we would also recommend that the miners and mine operators of each of the several States proceed, at an early date, to elect similar boards of arbitration and conciliation, to whom all questions of State importance shall be referred for adjustment."

This was adopted by a large majority.

After discussion, the following resolution was tabled:

"That all questions of difference arising in any district within the States represented here, differing from the Pittsburgh scale, though not conflicting therewith, shall be settled in said district by the miners and operators themselves by arbitration."

After a recess of ten (10) minutes, the national board was appointed, each State nominating its own delegates, and the convention by vote accepting the delegates so nominated. The board was to serve until May 1, 1887, and was constituted as follows:

For members at large in behalf of the operators—D. Reisinger, Pittsburg, Pa.; H. L. Chapman, Jackson county, Ohio; D. J. Jenne, Brazil, Ind.; A. L. Sweet, Chicago, Ill.; and P. L. Kimberly, Wheeling, W. Va.

For members at large in behalf of the miners—John Britt, Du Bois, Pa.; Christopher Evans, Straitsville, Ohio; P. McAdams, Oakland City, Ind.; Daniel McLaughlin, Braidwood, Ill.; and J. B. Fleming, Peabody, W. Va.

For State members in behalf of the operators—George W. Schluederberg, Pittsburg, Pa.; Oscar Townsend, Wheeling Creek, Ohio; J. R. Kendall, Terre Haute, Ind.; F. O. Wyatt, Chicago, Ill., and D. R. Brooks, Wheeling, W. Va.

For State members in behalf of the miners—Richard Davis, Pittsburg, Pa.; John McBride, Massillon, Ohio; William McKinley, Brazil, Ind.; Thomas Armstrong, Braceville, Ill., and Foster Hart, Coal Valley, W. Va.

Mr. Charles Maddox, of Springfield, Ill., offered the following resolution:

"That the proceedings of this convention be printed in circular form and be distributed by the executive board through the United States and Territories."

Adopted.

A motion was made by Mr. McBride of Ohio that we meet again on the second (2d) Tuesday in February, 1887, for the purpose of revising the Pittsburgh scale. Carried.

The following was offered by Mr. Morrison Foster of Ohio :

"Resolved, That the thanks of this convention are hereby given to the chairman of the convention for the able and impartial manner with which he has discharged the important and delicate duties of his office."

This was adopted, as was also a similar resolution which he offered in relation to the secretary.

After passing a vote of thanks to the "City of Columbus," its citizens and the press, for their hospitality, the convention adjourned.

E. T. BENT, Secretary.

N. B.—National Board organized and elected officers as follows :

President, Oscar Townsend, Cleveland, Ohio.

Secretary, Christopher Evans, New Straitsville, Ohio.

Before the joint conference was held the result of its deliberations were discussed with deep concern throughout the entire coal-producing states.

The coal operators of several States not represented, while absent from the seat of action, were equally interested because of the effect it would have on coal mining in general.

The great Hocking valley contest recently ended, with all the bitterness of feeling engendered between the coal operators and miners during the two years that had just closed had left its mark, and the question as to how to prevent a repetition of it in the future was the uppermost thought in the minds of those that had been made to suffer in consequence. This was plainly indicated when the conference roll of those present was called.

A most striking example of the change of feeling that had taken place was manifested by the leading active operator participant in that memorable struggle when he called the conference to order and proposed that a coal miner preside over it that had been just as active on the opposite side during the entire conflict.

It was like a feast of enjoyment over a renovated treatment for the ills of life the coal operators and miners are heir to and the methods required to further the best interests of both.

The reasoning powers of men engaged in one of the leading hives of industry had awakened to a sense of duty that said to the world, "Our joint interests are a common heritage, and we will build a structure worthy the calling we follow," and the citizen voice of the nation acquiesced.

CHAPTER XVII.

FIRST JOINT BOARD MEETING OF CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION, 1886.

The first joint meeting of the boards of conciliation and arbitration between operators and miners was held in the Ohio Coal Exchange rooms, Columbus, Ohio, April 28, 1886, with President Oscar Townsend in the chair.

On roll call the following members were found present:

Operators—Ohio, Oscar Townsend, H. L. Chapman; Illinois, A. L. Sweet, F. O. Wyott; Indiana, D. J. Jenne, J. R. Kendall; West Virginia, P. L. Kimberley, D. R. Brooks; Pennsylvania members were not present.

Miners—Ohio, John McBride, Chris Evans; Illinois, Daniel McLaughlin, Thomas J. Armstrong; Indiana, Patrick McAdams; West Virginia, J. B. Fleming; Pennsylvania members not present.

A written statement of grievances between operators P. L. Kimberley and D. R. Brooks of West Virginia and their miners was read and placed on file.

The president appointed A. L. Sweet of Illinois and John McBride of Ohio a committee on order of business and laws to govern the action of the board.

Resolved by McBride of Ohio:

"That on and after May 1, 1886, the hours of labor in the mines shall be eight per day for miners and mine laborers, in all mines governed by the rules of the joint convention of operators and miners held at Columbus, Ohio, February 23 and 24, 1886."

A little discussion was entered into when the chairman declared a recess.

Afternoon Session

On the resumption of business President Townsend called H. L. Chapman to preside in order to give the former an op-

portunity to present his views on the eight-hour question by reading an address prepared by him on the subject.

At the close of President Townsend's address several members participated in the debate which followed, when Mr. Sweet of Illinois offered the following substitute:

"Resolved, That on account of the disturbed condition of labor throughout the whole country, we deem it unwise at this time to make any recommendations to the miners and operators we represent of any change in the hours of labor."

On the presentation of the substitute Mr. Evans of Ohio asked a question of privilege to read a resolution which he desired to present as a compromise measure. The privilege was granted and the resolution read as follows:

"Resolved, That a legal day's work for the miners and mine laborers shall consist of not more than nine hours per day for all members belonging to the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers on and after May 1, 1886. All wages to remain the same as granted by the scale of prices adopted by the joint meeting of operators and miners held at Columbus, Ohio, February 23 and 24, 1886."

After the resolution was read the chair declared a recess of fifteen minutes for consultation.

On reassembling, all resolutions, amendments and substitutes were tabled when the chairman appointed A. L. Sweet of Illinois and Chris Evans of Ohio to draft a joint resolution, which was introduced and unanimously adopted as follows:

"Resolved, That on account of the disturbed condition of labor throughout the entire country, and the fact that the operators on this committee do not feel that they have any authority to act for their States on the question of adopting eight hours as a day's work, we therefore recommend that all operators on this board be requested to call a meeting of operators in their respective States at an early date to consider the eight-hour question, and instruct their representatives on this board so that they can, at their July meeting, come with power to act, when some general action shall be taken on the question."

A. L. Sweet of Illinois and John McBride of Ohio, committee on rules and order of business, made the following report:

"Mr. Chairman and Members of the Board:

"We, your committee on rules, beg leave to report the following for your consideration:

"1st—The board shall consider questions relating to or affecting the scale prices, the uniformity of mining methods, and questions on appeal from state boards of arbitration.

"2nd—The board in considering grievances shall dispose of the same in the order in which they have been reported.

"3rd—The board shall hold stated meetings on the second Tuesday of January, April, July and October, but should there be no grievances to consider the chairman and secretary shall notify the members that no meetings will be held.

"4th—In voting, each State shall be entitled to four (4) votes, operators two and miners two, and in case only one miner or one operator is present, he shall have the privilege of casting the vote of his colleague, or in case of the absence of miner or operator from any particular State, the full State vote shall be cast by the other miner or operator present."

The report presented was received and adopted.

The joint conference then adjourned, to meet at the call of the president and secretary.

OSCAR TOWNSEND, President.

CHRIS EVANS, Secretary.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FROM EXECUTIVE BOARD, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF MINERS AND MINE LABORERS.

To the Miners and Mine Laborers of the United States and Territories:

Fellow Workmen: On the 23d and 24th of February, 1886, a joint meeting was held at Columbus, Ohio, between the miners and operators of several States, for the purpose of adopting a scale of prices for the ensuing year, and prevent, if possible, any trouble on the question of price for at least one year to come.

As a result of our joint deliberations a scale of prices was adopted, to take effect and be in force from May 1, 1886, until May 1, 1887. A large number of operators in the various States are paying the scale of prices and working on very peaceful terms with their employes, while there are others who will not pay the price, neither will they meet with their miners to amicably adjust the difference. In all cases where any trouble exists our miners hold themselves ready at all times to arbitrate the questions at issue, but the operators are so unreasonably wedded to their former cruel and inhuman methods that they will not treat with them.

About two months have now passed since these miners entered the field and many of their families are in very needy circumstances. We, therefore, appeal to our miners everywhere to give them your undivided support.

In order to justify those operators who are paying the scale of prices, and the necessity of maintaining a uniform rate for all miners, it is very important that the present appeal receive the hearty support of all miners working at the advanced rates.

To meet the present wants of these miners we would suggest that twenty-five (25) cents per member be collected at once—two-fifths to be sent to John Britt, Lock Box 42, DuBois, Pennsylvania, and three-fifths to Daniel Brown, Irwin, Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania.

Trusting that all miners and laborers will respond to this appeal at their earliest convenience,

I am very respectfully,

CHRIS EVANS, Executive Secretary.

In response to a call issued on May 18, 1886, twenty-two leading representatives of national and international trade unions met in Donaldson's hall, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

George Harris of the Miners' Amalgamated Association of Western Pennsylvania, and Chris Evans, executive secretary of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, were among the delegates present.

One of the principal reasons for the meeting held was to try to prevent further encroachments of the Knights of Labor upon what was considered the rights of the trades union movement.

A treaty was formulated by the trades union representatives, and presented to the general executive board of the Knights of Labor, with this object in view.

Owing to a division in the mine workers' ranks, brought about by some of them having become members of the mixed local assemblies of the Knights of Labor, the miners connected with their national trade union became very much interested, and with other trades were anxious to avoid a conflict of authority that seemed sure to follow the establishment of two organizations in any of the trades.

On the 20th day of May, 1886, two days after the Philadelphia meeting was held, and about eight months after the

mine workers had organized the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers at Indianapolis, Indiana, the Knights of Labor organized National Trades Assembly No. 135, at St. Louis, Missouri.

This action gave the mine workers two national unions, which for four years caused a bone of contention in the mining industry rarely equaled.

The headquarters of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers was located at New Straitsville, Ohio.

National Trades Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, elected W. H. Bailey master workman, whose home was at Shawnee, Ohio, about three miles distant; Isaiah Philips of Pennsylvania was elected worthy foreman, and Lewis James of New Straitsville, Ohio, secretary-treasurer. By this election and selection the two national offices of mine workers were located in the same town.

The New Straitsville local assembly of the Knights of Labor, No. 120, was the second local assembly organized in the State of Ohio, and local assembly No. 169 of Shawnee was the fourth. The members in these two local assemblies, with a few exceptions, were mine workers living in two towns, the population of which was about three thousand each, and the distance between them was about three miles. These two local assemblies held sway in what was known as District No. 7 of the Knights of Labor and were the leading factors in organizing National Trades Assembly No. 135, at St. Louis, Missouri, that elected one of the members of Local Assembly No. 169 as master workman and a member of Local Assembly No. 120 secretary-treasurer.

The rivalry that followed the organization of these two national unions of mine workers for supremacy covers pages of history that for pure, unadulterated, caustic, pungent and satirical sarcasm, could hardly be substituted on lines of the severest criticism, and for these reasons an attempt to duplicate it at this time, even though successful, would reflect little credit for the participants or be of much value, morally speaking, to present day mine workers seeking loftier ideals upon which to build their future structures.

At a State convention of the Miners' and Laborers' Amalgamated Association of Pennsylvania, held at Altoona, June 15-18, 1886, John Parker and Daniel Duffy, from the anthracite region, were among the delegates present, and Henry George addressed the convention.

George Harris was elected president, Richard Davis secretary, and Martin Purcell treasurer. Harrisburg was selected as headquarters and chosen as the place to hold the next State convention.

It was resolved at this convention:

That we ask the hearty co-operation of the Knights of Labor, particularly those identified with the mining of coal, to work in friendly conjunction with the Miners' and Laborers' Amalgamated Association and for that body to restrain any infringements detrimental to the advancement of the Miners' and Laborers' Amalgamated Association.

MACHINE MINING.

During the year 1886 there was considerable trouble in the Hocking valley district of Ohio over the prices paid for machine mined coal. In May the prices paid were as follows: Cutters, 8 cents per ton in rooms and 11 cents per ton in entries; drillers, $1\frac{3}{4}$ cents per ton in rooms and $3\frac{1}{4}$ cents per ton in entries; loaders received 24 cents per ton in rooms and 36 cents per ton in entries. In the latter part of the month a demand was made by the men for an advance of 6 cents per ton to loaders and a proportionate advance for cutters and drillers. This was refused. A proposition to arbitrate the question was also refused by the operators and a strike followed, lasting until August 5, when arbitration was agreed to and the men resumed work at prices to be paid subject to the decision of the board of arbitrators.

This board consisted of two chosen by each party. If these four could not agree, the representatives of each side were to choose a referee each, and in the event of the referees failing to agree, they were to choose an umpire, whose decision was to be final. After this board met the pay to cutters and drillers had been changed, and they were paid by the day instead of by the ton as formerly. On January 4, 1887, the

arbitrators, without calling in either referees or umpire, agreed upon a decision, which is as follows:

We, the members of the board of arbitration selected to adjust the price of labor after machines operated in the mines of the Hocking valley, agree that when the price of pick mining is 60 cents per ton in the Hocking valley the price for loading after machines shall be 30 cents per ton in rooms and 36 cents per ton in entries; and when the price for pick mining advances or declines, the loaders after machines shall receive one-half the advance or decline in the price of pick mining. The price of cutting or drilling, when done by the ton, shall remain the same as was paid at the time this arbitration commenced, and the companies shall have the right to employ drillers and cutters by the day, but when miners are required to do their own drilling they shall receive the same price per ton as is paid at Rend's mine at Jacksonville.

JOHN MCBRIDE,
JOHN H. TAYLOR,
WILLIAM JOB,
GEO. W. BRASHEARS,
Arbitrators.

It will be observed that this decision adjusts itself to the change in the method of paying cutters and drillers, while the advance asked by the men is conceded, except in the case of entries, where the price remains the same. The advance dates back to the day arbitration was agreed to and the men went to work.

At the second meeting of the joint board of arbitration and conciliation between operators and miners, held at the Hotel English, Indianapolis, Indiana, September 6, 1886, the eight-hour question was again discussed, but the operators from the States represented, including Indiana, Ohio, and Illinois, as well as through a letter received from Daniel Reisinger, coal operator from Pennsylvania, the operators were all opposed to any change being made.

John McBride, for the miners, favored action being taken at the next general meeting held. Chris Evans spoke in favor of adopting a uniform number of hours in each State represented.

After considerable discussion on the question President Townsend appointed A. L. Sweet of Illinois and John McBride

of Ohio to draft a resolution, which they afterwards presented and was adopted, as follows:

Whereas, the lack of uniformity in the hours of labor in the mines is a source of much trouble between miners and operators, some working nine and others eleven hours.

Be it resolved, That we, the members of the operators' and miners' joint board of arbitration and conciliation, recommend that a uniform number of hours of labor in and around the mines be fully considered and acted upon at the annual joint meeting of miners and mine operators to be held at Columbus, Ohio, on the second Tuesday of February, 1887.

The president and secretary were authorized to issue an address to all operators and miners throughout the States and Territories, setting forth fully the questions to be considered at the next annual meeting and urging upon them the necessity of having a full representation present.

John McBride and H. L. Chapman of Ohio were appointed a committee to prepare a code of rules to govern all questions of arbitration and present them for consideration at the next annual convention.

On a grievance presented by Woodruff Trunkey brothers of Indiana, through a letter read by the secretary, in which they complained of the price they were called upon to pay by the scale of prices adopted, Patrick McAdams, miner, and J. R. Kendall, operator, both of Indiana, were appointed as a committee to investigate the trouble with a view to adjusting it, and the meeting adjourned.

OSCAR TOWNSEND, President.
CHRIS EVANS, Secretary.

CHAPTER XIX.

SECOND ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL
FEDERATION OF MINERS AND MINE LABORERS

The second annual convention of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers was held in Typographical Union Hall, Indianapolis, Indiana, September 7, 1886.

Chris Evans, executive secretary, called the convention to order and briefly stated the objects of the meeting, after which the committee on credentials reported the following delegates entitled to seats in the convention:

"Ohio—John McBride, N. R. Hysell, Chris Evans, George Harrison, Alexander Johnson, V. E. Sullivan, Harvey Phelps, Dennis Sullivan, D. C. North, John H. Taylor, John E. Short, John McCambridge, James McLaughlin, John Klein.

"Pennsylvania—John Britt, John T. Johnson, Edward Hughes, J. W. Killduff, John H. Davis, George Harris.

"Indiana—J. T. Smith, P. H. Penna, David Burton, William Houston, James Cantwell, Henry Hargraves, Newton Edwards, John H. Kennedy, John Harkins, Patrick McAdams, William Dalton, Michael Sullivan.

"Illinois—Daniel McLaughlin, P. H. Donnelly, George Harrison, Thomas J. Armstrong, George A. Ramsey, John Conley, John Robertson, Michael Bacon, Frank Weisenburg, W. D. Reese, David Ross.

"Missouri—W. B. Watts.

"JOHN BRITT, Chairman,

"WM. B. WATTS,

"P. H. PENNA,

"V. E. SULLIVAN,

"P. H. DONNELLY, Secretary,

"Committee."

John McBride of Ohio was elected chairman of the convention, Chris Evans secretary, and P. H. Donnelly, assistant secretary.

In the afternoon of the first day's session, the various committees having been appointed, the auditing committee reported as having found the treasurer's books correct, with a balance of \$601.60 in the treasury.

The executive secretary also made his report covering the work done during the year, in which he referred to the embarrassments encountered because of the divided authority of two organizations dealing with operators on questions affecting the miners as a whole.

Second Day.

At the second day's session, after roll call, the committee on resolutions, through their report, created lively discussions on many of the subjects presented, among which were the following, that were adopted:

"Resolved, That we are in favor of connecting our organization with the present national and international trades and labor unions of the United States and Canada, and we leave it with our executive board to open correspondence as regards our admission."

"Resolved, That this convention favors national organizers and instructs the executive board to place organizers in the field—the number to be in proportion to the funds, and the organizers to receive their instructions from the executive board."

"Whereas, It seems that there is a vast difference of opinion among the members of our craft in regard to the different labor organizations, and as they have a tendency to conflict with each other; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we deem it wise to have one distinct organization, and the name of this organization shall be the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers of the United States and Territories."

"Resolved, That we are opposed to merging into the Knights of Labor, and recognize no organization as being capable to deal with the interests of the miners and mine laborers of the United States and Territories but the Miners' and Mine Laborers' National Federation, and to it we will ever cling, and ask that our executive board issue a manifesto defining properly to the miners and mine laborers and the wage-workers of the world our proper stand on the subject of labor; and while wanting peace, do not desire it at the price of liberty to the members of our craft."

Third Day.

On the third day of the convention, after reassembling and roll call, resolutions presented were numerous and the debates that followed denoted an earnest purpose to build up a national union of mine workers, whose devotion of interest could not

be misunderstood nor their dealings with coal operators misconstrued.

Labor legislation was discussed from every angle, including eight hours for the mine workers; two weeks' pay in the lawful money of the country, instead of scrip with its depreciated value, issued by the pluck-me stores established in almost every mining camp; the repeal of conspiracy laws, and a determined opposition was shown against any member or official giving encouragement to any organization whose methods were antagonistic to the aims and objects of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers.

The constitution was so amended as to make the number of the executive board five members at large and one from the anthracite-region of Pennsylvania. John Johnson of Shamokin, Pennsylvania, was elected for the anthracite coal field.

The members of the executive board elected consisted of six members, as follows: Daniel McLaughlin of Illinois; Chris Evans of Ohio, Patrick McAdams of Indiana, N. R. Hysell of Ohio, Thomas J. Armstrong of Illinois and John Johnson for the anthracite region of Pennsylvania.

The executive secretary's salary was increased to \$75 per month. It was

"Resolved, That the executive board of each State investigate the question of prices in their respective States, and in the meantime that all local and district secretaries furnish State secretaries all information pertaining to machine mining, and that such information be furnished the parties appointed to arbitrate troubles at machine mines.

"That we urge all members of the federation to familiarize themselves with the constitution and the objects sought to be attained, as set forth therein, and particularly that section relating to the securing of laws providing for the weighing of coal before being screened."

Daniel McLaughlin was re-elected treasurer and Chris Evans executive secretary. The *National Labor Tribune* was reindorsed as the official organ of the National union, together with an expression of thanks to the Typographical Union of the city for the use of their hall, to the citizens of Indianapolis and members of the press for courtesies extended, after which the convention adjourned sine die.

JOHN MCBRIDE, Chairman.

CHRIS EVANS, Executive Secretary.

P. H. DONNELLY, Assistant Secretary.

On September 10, 1886, the day following the adjournment of the convention, the national executive board held a meeting at the Hotel English, with the following members present:

Daniel McLaughlin, Illinois; N. R. Hysell, Ohio; Patrick McAdams, Indiana; John T. Johnson, Pennsylvania; Thomas J. Armstrong, Illinois; Chris Evans, Ohio. Daniel McLaughlin was elected chairman and Chris Evans secretary.

Several questions that had been under consideration by the national convention were thoroughly discussed by the board and disposed of by authorizing the executive secretary to use his best judgment in adjusting them. The secretary was authorized to attend the meeting at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, consisting of a committee of five representing the trades unions, to be held on the 28th day of September, 1886, provided he deemed it best for the interest of the national federation to be present.

The secretary was also advised to draft the manifesto decided upon by the national convention, subject to the approval of the president of the executive board. After which the board adjourned. Daniel McLaughlin, chairman; Chris Evans, secretary.

After the organization of National Trades Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, they held their first convention at Indianapolis, Indiana, September 15-20, 1886, five days after the second convention of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers had adjourned.

The Knights of Labor convention decided that should the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers refuse to recognize the Knights of Labor and admit its representatives on an equal basis in the joint conference with operators and miners, they would consider themselves under no obligation to abide by any agreement made between the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers and the coal operators, but if allowed equal representation would work unreservedly to maintain any scale of prices agreed to.

In November, 1886, a question arose between miners and operators in the Indiana coal field that necessitated the issuing of the following circular call for a special meeting of the interstate board of arbitration and conciliation:

A question of difference as to the meaning of the Pittsburg scale, as adopted at Columbus, Ohio, February 24, 1886, has arisen in the block coal region of Indiana. The block coal

miners and operators failing to reach an agreement, the miners appealed to the Indiana State joint board of miners and operators.

Said joint State board, at a meeting called and held at Brazil, Indiana, on the 23rd instant, failed to settle the difference or reach a satisfactory conclusion, and by resolution submitted the question of difference to the interstate board of arbitration and conciliation for its decision, and directed Col. S. N. Yeoman, president of the Indiana joint board of arbitration and conciliation, to certify the proceedings of that board to the interstate board, and urge prompt action.

In compliance with the request from Indiana, a meeting of the interstate board of arbitration and conciliation is hereby called, to be held at the Bates House, Indianapolis, Tuesday, December 7, 1886, at 10 a. m., at which time the certified proceedings of the Indiana State board will be presented for consideration.

It is not only desirable but quite important that every member of the interstate board be present.

CHRISTOPHER EVANS, Secretary, New Straitsville, Ohio.

OSCAR TOWNSEND, President, Cleveland, Ohio.

SPECIAL MEETING.

On December 7, 1886, the date named in the joint call issued, a meeting of the interstate board of arbitration and conciliation was held at the Bates House, Indianapolis, Indiana, for the purpose of considering the grievance presented by the State board of miners and operators of Indiana. The meeting was called to order with President Oscar Townsend in the chair. The members present follow:

Operators—Oscar Townsend, Ohio; Daniel Reisenger, Pennsylvania; D. J. Jenne, Indiana; A. L. Sweet, Illinois; P. L. Kimberly, West Virginia. State members—George W. Schluederberg, Pennsylvania; J. R. Kendall, Indiana; F. O. Wyott, Illinois; D. R. Brooks, West Virginia.

Miners—John Britt, Pennsylvania; Chris Evans, Ohio; Daniel McLaughlin, Illinois; J. B. Fleming, West Virginia. State Members—Richard Davis, Pennsylvania; John McBride, Ohio; Foster Hart, West Virginia.

Owing to the death of Patrick McAdams of the national board, and the resignation of William McKinley of the State board of Indiana, William Houston and P. H. Penna, miners of that State, acted as their substitutes.

The secretary was called upon to state the object of the meeting, and complied by reading a letter on the grievance of the operators and miners of Indiana, after which the question

was freely discussed by participants as follows: P. H. Penna and William Houston for the miners, and R. S. Tennant for the operators.

The attention of the board being called to the death of Brother Patrick McAdams, a member of the national board, Daniel McLaughlin and J. R. Kendall were appointed a committee to draft suitable resolutions of respect to the deceased member, which were adopted. The president then declared a recess of one hour for dinner.

On reassembling in the afternoon the question of the Indiana grievance was again discussed at length by J. R. Kendall of Indiana, George W. Schluederberg of Pennsylvania, John McBride of Ohio, Daniel McLaughlin of Illinois, D. J. Jenne, M. A. Johnson, P. H. Penna and William Houston of Indiana, after which the president appointed John McBride of Ohio and D. J. Jenne of Indiana as a committee to draft a resolution on the question for the consideration of the board.

On the report of the committee being made, the question was again considered at great length, when a resolution was adopted to refer the entire matter for final adjustment to the national joint conference to be held in February, 1887.

The joint conference state and national boards then adjourned.

OSCAR TOWNSEND, President.
CHRIS EVANS, Secretary.

ILLINOIS MINERS' AND MINE LABORERS' CONVENTION, 1886.

To the Members of the Miners' and Mine Laborers' Protective Association of Illinois:

Friends—You are hereby requested to send representatives to a state convention to be held in the capitol building (state house), Springfield, Illinois, on the second Tuesday in February, 1886.

Objects.

1. To consider the action of the officers of the national federation, and means of supporting the same.

2. To ascertain the various competing points in our State and with other states so that we may regulate districts accordingly.

3. A proper consideration of the coal trade and the prospects for the future.

4. To consider the advisability of shortening the hours of labor in the mines.

5. To consider what legislation would be necessary for the proper protection of those working in and around our coal mines, and other legislation necessary for the advancement of those connected with our calling.

6. To consider the necessity of establishing an accident insurance department for the benefit of our members and those who may be dependent upon them.

7. Election of officers, and any other business that may suggest itself as being of interest to our organization.

Basis of representation: Each representative shall be entitled to one vote for every fifty members he represents, or fractional part thereof, in good standing. Lodges having less than fifty members and sending a delegate shall be entitled to one vote. The standing of all lodges to be determined by their official standing with the general office. All representatives must have credentials properly signed by the president and secretary of the district or lodges they represent and bearing the seal of same.

Friends, we hope the members of every lodge and district will give due consideration to the objects set forth in this call, so that your representatives may come prepared and well instructed. It is of the utmost importance to us all that such should be done. We have entered upon a great undertaking, and one that will require the earnest and intelligent efforts of all; and as this convention will be the first gathering since 1873 of representatives from a solid body of union men, all eyes will be on them and much will be expected of them. Therefore, we respectfully urge the necessity of every lodge or district sending their ablest and best men to this convention.

DANIEL MCCLAUGHLIN, President.

P. H. DONNELLY, General Secretary.

At the convention held in Springfield, Illinois, in February, 1886, the delegates present represented 8,000 members. The State was formed into districts, and the incorporation of the union under the State laws was authorized and old officers elected.

CONSTITUTION.

Article I.

Name. The Miners' and Mine Laborers' Protective Association of Illinois.

Article II — Objects.

To promote the interests of the miners and mine laborers of Illinois and America, morally, socially and financially; for the protection of their health and lives; to spread intelligence

among them; to remove as far as possible the cause of strikes, and adopt wherever or whenever it is practicable, the principle of arbitration; to shorten the hours of labor, as far as practicable, and to restrict the product when necessary to equalize wages, and to work in harmony with and be a part of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers of the United States and Territories; to promote the interests and welfare of all.

Article III — Government.

Section 1. This association shall be comprised of all persons working in and around the coal mines of Illinois, and shall be governed by an executive board, consisting of the state president, vice-president, general secretary, treasurer and one member from each market district, which board shall have full power to act in the absence of the State convention.

Election of Officers.

Sec. 2. The president, vice-president, treasurer and general secretary shall be elected annually by the delegates assembled in state convention, and each member from market districts shall be elected by said district in district meetings assembled.

Article IV — Duties of State Officers.

Section 1. The president shall preside over all meetings of the executive board, act as chief organizer of the State, exercise a general supervision of the organization, and make recommendations to the executive board with a view to advance the interests of the organization.

Sec. 2. The vice-president shall perform the duties of the president in his absence, or in the event of the president's death or resignation he shall take control, and so act until removed by the executive board. The first State convention following shall elect a president, and in the absence of both the executive board shall elect a president pro tem.

Duties of the General Secretary.

Sec. 3. He shall keep a true record of all the meetings of the State executive board. He shall attend to all official correspondence between the members and the general office. Receive all moneys, tax, assessments, etc., ordered paid to the association, and forward the same to the State treasurer twice a week. He shall draw all orders upon the treasurer for bills ordered paid, and shall furnish a bond in the sum of \$500 with approved securities. And, in addition, he shall send out blanks for monthly reports to be filled out by each lodge and for-

warded with per capita tax to the General office. He shall compile from said reports, with his office matter, a monthly statement, a copy of which shall be sent out to each lodge. He shall keep a copy of each local report, and a copy of his monthly statement to be filed in the general office, his work to be always subject to examination by the State president or the executive board.

Sec. 4. The treasurer shall give bonds in the sum of \$2,000 to the executive board, with approved sureties, and shall receive for the faithful performance of his duties the sum of \$50 per year, his duties to be defined from time to time by the executive board.

Sec. 5. The president, vice-president and general secretary shall each receive \$50 per month and actual expenses, to be approved by the executive board.

Article V — Revenue.

The per capita tax for the support and general expense of the association shall be 5 cents per month from each member, and in addition to this a per capita tax of 1 cent per member for each calendar month shall be paid through the State executive secretary as a national duty to the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, the same to be forwarded on or before the 26th of each month, with monthly report.

Article VI.

Section 1. Districts or sub-districts may be formed by any number of lodges, upon permission of the State president or executive board, and such districts may adopt any laws for their interests, providing the same does not conflict with this constitution, and locals also may adopt by-laws for their convenience, providing the same are in keeping with this constitution, all of which must conform to the constitution of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers.

Sec. 2. Each district shall elect a president and vice-president, one secretary and treasurer, all of whom shall be elected by the majority of delegates attending the district meetings, and shall be elected at the regular district meeting in January of each year. The revenue of each district shall be regulated and collected by each district.

Duties of District Officers.

Sec. 3. The president shall preside over all district meetings and exercise a general supervisory care over the interests of his district.

Sec. 4. The vice-president shall assist the president, and in his absence or inability to attend to the duties of his office

he shall perform such duties, by and with the consent of the district board, in the absence of a district meeting.

Sec. 5. The secretary shall keep a correct record of the proceedings of the district meetings and attend to all correspondence of an official character for the district. He shall also perform the duties of financial secretary, unless otherwise provided for by the district. Compensation to district officers is altogether with each district itself.

Treasurer.

Sec. 6. He shall receive all moneys paid into the district from the secretary, giving his receipt therefor, and pay all orders properly signed by the president and secretary, and shall give such security as his district may determine.

Article VII.—Local Lodges.

Section 1. Each lodge may consist of from ten members upward, and shall be governed by a president, vice-president, recording secretary, financial secretary, treasurer and committees to suit their own convenience.

Sec. 2. The president shall preside over all meetings of his lodge, sign orders for bills ordered paid by the lodge, keep a general care of the whole interests of the lodge and its members.

Sec. 3. The vice-president shall assist the president in his duties, and in his absence perform the duties of president. On the removal or resignation of any officer in districts or locals, his place shall be filled at the next meeting of said district or local by electing his successor.

Sec. 4. All elections for officers shall be by ballot, when more than one candidate is to be selected from, and each lodge shall meet at least once a month, the time to be specified in its by-laws.

Sec. 5. Any lodge failing to send on their per capita tax for two months to the general office will be suspended and dropped from the books of the general secretary, and can only be placed in good standing by paying up all arrearages or by vote of the delegates in State convention.

Sec. 6. The officers of all local lodges shall be elected at the first regular meeting in October and March of each year, and serve until their successor has been elected and qualified.

Sec. 7. The initiation fee in organized lodges shall not be less than 25 cents per member, and the monthly dues shall not be less than 10 cents per month, and any member three months in arrears will be considered in bad standing and shall have no vote.

Sec. 8. But members sick or disabled through accident, since connecting themselves with this union, may be carried on the books at the will of the members of their lodge.

Article VIII.—Disputes.

It will be the duty of all local and district officers to try and settle all disputes, in their locals or districts by arbitration before resorting to strikes, and in the event of their failing to settle the question or questions in dispute amicably, they may call upon the general secretary for the assistance of the executive board to aid and advise with them in trying to effect a settlement.

Article IX.—Cards.

Section 1. Members presenting cards from this State union, or any other State which is a part of the national federation, shall be received and enrolled if so desired, and entitled to all the privileges and benefits of this association.

Sec. 2. Any member desiring a traveling card, when he shall have paid all the demands on the books of his lodge against him, shall be granted the same upon application to his lodge officers, who shall attach their names and seals on the same.

Article X.—Legislative.

Section 1. All questions of dispute from lodges or districts for the State executive board must be sent in writing, bearing the names of the officers, with mark or seal. On all petitions from lodges to districts the same rule shall apply. There shall be appointed a doorkeeper at each State, district or lodge meeting.

Sec. 2. No member shall be allowed to enter the meeting of State, district or lodges while intoxicated, and no member shall be allowed to use profane or insulting language at meetings, under penalty of removal or expulsion, at the will of the meeting.

Cushing's Parliamentary Rules shall govern all meetings of this association.

This constitution can only be altered or amended by a two-thirds vote of the delegates in State convention.

The strike inaugurated at Grape Creek, Illinois, in the year 1886 by the Illinois miners affiliated with the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, owing to the refusal of Manager F. H. McClure to pay the scale rates agreed to by the joint conference of operators and miners, in which he took

a part in February. The miners suffered seriously in the manly struggle made because of the two national organizations having members working at the Grape Creek mines. The following letter, published in the *National Labor Tribune*, shows the feeling displayed in the language attributed to W. H. Bailey, master workman of National Trades Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, at the mines where the strike was being conducted:

Grape Creek, Illinois, January 7, 1887.

If ten of my people wish me to effect a compromise I will do so. If even one of my people wish it I will do so. I am doing what I do without charge. If I send anything here you must not think hard if they keep it within their own ranks, as I will not allow them to do otherwise.

There will be no scale for next year. Any man who is a member of the Knights of Labor, who shall take a part at Columbus in the formation of a scale, I will see that he is suspended or I will take the charter from the local assembly.

T. J. ROBERTS,
JOHN GRAY.

At the annual convention of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers held at Indianapolis, Indiana, September, 1886, it was resolved that they were opposed to merging into the Knights of Labor, and later issued a manifesto to that effect. The feeling between the two organizations at this time was next akin to hatred, but members of both organizations took part in the joint conference of operators and miners held in February, 1887.

After the successful joint conference between the coal operators and the miners representatives of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers at Columbus, Ohio, in 1886, National Organizers T. T. O'Malley and John H. Davis were sent into the anthracite region of Pennsylvania, early in December, and held successful meetings at all points visited. At Centralia and Shamokin, George Harris, the State president of Pennsylvania, together with Daniel Duffy, secretary of the Schuylkill county district, and Daniel McLaughlin, president of the State union of Illinois, joined forces with O'Malley and Davis, which created considerable interest among the anthracite miners, and many new recruits were made members of the already organized local unions.

At this juncture, however, National Trades Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, that organized May 20, 1886, had entered the region and the fight for supremacy was so furiously waged that the power and influence of organized effort was wasted and of very little effect. The fact was here demonstrated that two organizations of mine workers were less effectual than none in advancing the miners' interest, because of the division created when matters of joint interest were under consideration that required a united front to combat unjust practices imposed upon them. This destructive feature, brought about by too much organization, continued amidst scenes of confusion that played havoc with the power of organized effort through contests, though strenuously fought, lacked the cohesive adherence necessary to cement the ties so much required for self preservation.

Owing to the kindly feeling created as the result of the first joint conference between coal operators and miners, a joint invitation was extended for the second meeting as follows:

New Straitsville, Ohio, January 3, 1887.

To the Miners and Operators of the United States and Territories:

At a meeting held at Indianapolis, Indiana, on the 12th day of September, 1885, the executive board of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers authorized the executive secretary to issue an address to the mine operators of the United States and Territories, inviting them to meet in joint convention with the board for the purpose of adjusting market and mining prices in such a way as to avoid strikes and lock-outs, and give to each party an increased profit from the sale of coal. As a result of that invitation, several joint meetings have been held, which have resulted in much good to all parties interested. At the joint meeting held in Columbus, Ohio, on Tuesday and Wednesday, February 23 and 24, 1886, a scale of prices was agreed upon by the miners and operators of Ohio, Illinois, western Pennsylvania, Indiana and West Virginia, to govern the prices for mining in the States represented for one year, commencing May 1, 1886, and ending April 30, 1887. At said meeting, the following resolution was adopted, and a joint board elected:

"Resolved, That a board of arbitration and conciliation, consisting of five (5) miners and five (5) operators at large, and one (1) miner and one (1) operator from each of the

coal-producing States represented in the scale, be elected by this convention, and that all questions of an interstate or national character be submitted to this board for adjustment. And that we would also recommend that the miners and mine operators of each of the several States proceed, at an early date, to elect similar boards of arbitration and conciliation, to whom all questions of State importance shall be referred for adjustment."

Through the joint efforts of these boards, during the past year, several conflicts have been avoided that would otherwise have caused considerable loss to both operators and miners. The experiment has given much better satisfaction than was anticipated by its most sanguine friends.

At the last meeting of the joint board the president and secretary were authorized to invite all miners and mine owners throughout the various States and Territories, that are in favor of a mutual interchange of views, and the benefits to arise from a well-grounded confidence between miners and operators, leading, as we hope, to the satisfactory adjustment of all questions, by the parties directly interested, through conciliatory arbitration, to attend our next joint annual convention, which will be held in the City Hall, at Columbus, Ohio, on Tuesday, February 8, 1887, at 10 o'clock a. m., when the adoption of another scale of prices will be considered for the ensuing year.

We therefore respectfully urge upon your attendance, believing that if the movement is properly supported that it will establish peace and prosperity in the mining industry of our land.

Very truly yours,

OSCAR TOWNSEND, President,
CHRIS EVANS, Secretary.

All those favorable to the movement, on receipt of this circular, will please communicate the same to the secretary, Chris Evans, New Straitsville, Ohio.

In January, 1887, the *National Labor Tribune*, with others, commented on the erection of a monument to the memory of John Siney as follows:

The *Labor Tribune* heartily agrees that the virtues, services and suffering of that useful and unostentatious worker in the cause of organized labor should be thus consummated. Shall the body of a champion of his character be left to molder in an unmarked grave?

January 15, 1887.

Being at St. Clair, Pennsylvania, I thought of the services rendered by him in humanity's cause generally, and miners particularly; of the days he went from place to place; of sleepless nights and restless days; of the taunts and sneers he had to bear from employers, and from fellow workmen many times. I therefore make an appeal to the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, the Ohio Miners' Association, the Illinois Protective Union, the Pennsylvania, Indiana and West Virginia miners' organizations.

T. T. O'MALLEY.

January 15, 1887.

We are fully in accord with the project to erect a suitable tombstone over the remains of the lamented John Siney, and we hope that the miners who are to hold their State conventions the present month will cheerfully contribute toward paying the last mark of esteem to one whose faithful services are still fresh in the memories of the miners of this country.

CHRIS EVANS.

CHAPTER XX.

OHIO MINERS' STATE CONVENTION.

The Ohio miners' annual convention was held at Columbus, Ohio, January 18, 19, 20 and 21, 1887. After the convention organized and committees were appointed by President John McBride, Messrs. Thomas Taylor, T. Ratchford, D. S. Davis, W. C. Pearce and F. S. Mason, the credential committee, reported the following delegates entitled to seats in the convention:

John McBride, N. R. Hysell, Ebenezer Lewis, F. S. Mason, J. Nye, H. Lynch, E. Edwards, G. Higgins, D. S. Davis, T. J. Fitzgerald, M. Gillooley, J. T. Steenrod, M. Lewis, W. Knight, D. Baird, W. P. Jonas, M. M. Hanshaw, J. A. Donley, W. Blakeley, A. Gibbs, I. Williams, N. Hocking, J. Solan, W. C. Pearce, W. Edwards, W. H. Crawford, R. F. Warren, P. H. Harney, W. Melvin, J. W. Haughee, J. Murray, D. Griffiths, P. Curtis, J. H. Taylor, T. Taylor, Chris Evans, P. Hoban, G. Orendorff, H. Campbell, W. H. Dozer, W. S. Millhuff, H. Phelps, W. Graham, T. Ratchford, S. Llewellyn, George Harrison, J. Cairns, C. N. Kline, W. Hughes.

This had been a year of considerable agitation among Ohio miners because of the joint wage agreement entered into between operators and miners of Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois and West Virginia for the year. It was the miners' belief that they were entitled to more than the scale called for in the winter season. This feeling was intense in the Hocking valley, and many persuasive arguments were indulged in to avoid a conflict on this point. It was overcome, however, and work continued throughout the year without any serious results on the question of mining rates. Among the many questions considered by the State convention the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That for the purpose of honoring the memory of John Siney and perpetuating the good work started by him, we appropriate \$50 out of our general fund for the purpose of starting a fund to erect a suitable monument.

Resolved, That the money appropriated be sent to the *National Labor Tribune*, and request that they open a list and receive additional contributions from miners of all districts to aid in this work, and that a voluntary subscription be made among the delegates for the purpose of augmenting the monumental fund of John Siney.

Resolved, That John McBride, George Harrison, N. R. Hysell and Chris Evans be elected to represent the Ohio Miners' Amalgamated Association at the joint meeting of operators and miners, to be held at Columbus, Ohio, February 8, 1887.

The convention discussed the semi-monthly pay law, and worked laboriously on other matters affecting the miners of Ohio through the refusal of the Legislature to pass laws in which the miners of the State were deeply interested.

John McBride was re-elected president, Alexander Johnson vice-president, and Ebenezer Lewis was re-elected secretary.

After the reindorsement of the *National Labor Tribune* as their official organ, and resolutions of thanks to the press, the citizens of Columbus and the proprietor of the convention hall for its use, the convention adjourned. John McBride, president; Ebenezer Lewis, secretary.

While there was antagonism between the miners of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers and those

miners that had joined the Knights of Labor, it was more intense after National Trades Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, organized.

The report of Master Workman W. H. Bailey of National Trades Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, at their second annual session, states that the following resolution was adopted by the Ohio Miners' Amalgamated Association convention:

Resolved, 1. That we believe the association to be fully competent to meet the requirements of our craft without the interference of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, or any of its sub-districts.

2. That in order to prevent any further opposition from National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, and to maintain harmony we respectfully invite all the members of our craft that have joined that body to connect themselves with our association and the national federation, and share the many benefits that our association and the national federation have bestowed upon us. Should the fight against the association and federation by National District Assembly 135, Knights of Labor, continue, we recommend our members to sever their connection with the Knights of Labor.

3. Believing that no set of men are as well fitted to legislate for a trade as the tradesmen themselves, we will sustain and encourage the trades union movement.

JOHN MCBRIDE, President.

EBENEZER LEWIS, Secretary.

The controversy continued as follows:

Pittsburg, February 3, 1887.

Miners and Mine Laborers' National District Assembly
No. 135.

Executive Board now in session:

Mr. Christopher Evans, Dear Sir—I hereby submit to you the following, adopted by the above board, to-wit:

“Whereas, In view of the fact that there is a meeting of miners and operators called to be held at Columbus, Ohio, on Tuesday, February 8, 1887, for the purpose of taking into consideration the adoption of a scale of prices for mining coal for the ensuing year, and believing that Miners and Mine Laborers National District Assembly No. 135 should have a representation at said meeting; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we, the executive board of said Miners and Mine Laborers National District Assembly No. 135 have determined that, in case of a refusal upon the part of said convention to admit the representatives of said National District Assembly No. 135 on an equal basis with other organizations, we shall not consider our portion of the craft under any obligation to abide by or conform to any scale of prices that may be adopted or any agreement entered into by said convention.

"But should the representatives of National District Assembly No. 135 be admitted on an equal basis with other organizations and have equal privileges in the formation of an agreement and fixing a scale of prices, then we will pledge our support to strictly and faithfully enforce and maintain any scale of prices or agreement that shall be adopted by said convention."

Witness our hands and seal this 3d day of February, 1887.

(SEAL)

W. H. BAILEY, Chairman.

LEWIS JAMES, Secretary.

By order of the national executive board.

New Straitsville, Ohio, February 4, 1887.

Mr. Lewis James, Secretary National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania:

Dear Sir—Your communication dated February 3, 8 p. m., containing the whereas, resolve, determination, etc., of your executive board in case the representatives of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, are not admitted on an equal basis with other organizations, to take part in the deliberations of the Columbus joint convention, which requires an answer before Saturday night, has just been received. In reply would say:

To comply with all you ask of me would require more fortitude than I possess. I am only one of the members of the executive board of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, hence confess my inability to act for the entire board. I would say, however, that I see no reason why your representatives could not take a part in the Columbus conference; but the extent of such representation can only be determined by a consultation of both bodies.

Respectfully yours,

CHRIS EVANS.

Controversies of this nature continued, and the fight went on.

Early in February, 1887, the *National Labor Tribune* reported the following receipts for the John Siney fund:

William Waudby, \$1; William West, \$1; Ohio Miners' Amalgamated Association, \$50; delegates to Ohio State convention, \$37.75; Henry Evans, New Castle, Pennsylvania, 50 cents.

ARBITRATION AWARD.

Youngstown, Ohio, January 31, 1887.

We, the undersigned representatives of mine operators and miners of the National and Fairview mines at Washingtonville, Ohio, having had submitted to us the disputed question of what shall be the price paid for mining coal at the above named mines, compared with the price paid for mining coal in the Hocking valley, and having fully ascertained the amount of wages earned by the miners and selling price of coal, and all other evidence obtainable pertaining to the question at issue, do hereby agree, decide and award that the price of mining shall be advanced from 82½ cents per ton to 87 cents per ton for coal screened over ¾-inch screen. The price of mining to advance or decline with that of Hocking valley, and a difference of 27 cents to be maintained.

This award not to disturb any other prices paid at these mines apart from mining coal.

J. M. WALTER,
N. R. HYSSELL,
W. H. WARNER,
GEORGE HARRISON.

CHAPTER XXI.

SECOND ANNUAL JOINT CONFERENCE OF MINERS
AND OPERATORS.

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS.

Columbus, Ohio, February 8, 1887.

The second annual joint conference of miners and operators was held at Columbus, Ohio, February 8, 1887, in the City Hall.

The convention was called to order by Oscar Townsend of Cleveland, Ohio. S. N. Yeoman of Indiana was elected president. Christopher Evans of Ohio was elected secretary and P. H. Donnelly of Illinois and H. C. Stanwood of Ohio assistant secretaries.

On motion a committee on credentials was appointed, consisting of five operators and five miners, as follows:

Operators—Ohio, J. C. Stirling; Illinois, John C. Campbell; Indiana, A. M. Ogle; Pennsylvania, Alexander Dempster.

Miners—Ohio, George Harrison; Illinois, T. J. Armstrong; Indiana, William Houston; Pennsylvania, Patrick McBride; West Virginia, M. F. Moran.

On motion the appointment of all other committees be dispensed with until after the committee on credentials has reported.

On motion a recess of twenty minutes was taken, and on reassembling the committee on credentials reported the following gentlemen entitled to seats in the convention:

Operators.

Ohio—E. T. Jones, J. Murphy, N. Kessinger, John Hipple, Ira A. Stearnberg, H. L. Chapman, J. J. C. Evans, J. C. Jones, Moses Morgan, George J. Jones, T. J. Morgan, F. K. Shepard, Eben Jones, John T. Hall, J. J. McKittrick, Elias Morgan, H. S. Bunday, M. L. Sternberger, O. B. Gould, Thomas C. Gerken, G. H. Smith, Benjamin Beatty, J. Morrved, Theodore Fluhart, Isaac Brown, E. L. Sternberger, William Rowe, W. L. Caten, E. W. Redding, W. J. Jones, Amos Smith, J. R. Buchtel, David Patterson, C. L. Poston, S. A. Culver, W. S. Courtwright, L. R. Doty, R. S. Witzell, W. B. Brooks, Walter Craft, General Hamilton, John Brashears, H. C. Will, Thomas Corcoran, J. T. Sterling, J. S. Morton, G. G. Hadley, J. E. Martin, W. P. Rend,

H. C. Stanwood, John Cummings, J. C. Hamilton, W. F. Upson, M. V. Barbour, L. D. Lampson, W. H. Witzell, A. Howell, J. A. Bidelar, C. Russell, W. J. Williams, H. S. Ayres of Toledo, H. S. Willard of Wellston, Oscar Townsend, J. H. Faxon, W. H. Ghoal, James Patterson, A. J. Baggs, Park Foster, James Mullens, D. W. Fuller, E. B. Willard, W. W. Graham, J. C. Allen, F. A. Bendergast, W. H. Warner, J. M. Walter, J. M. Ferris, A. J. McCartney, E. C. Marshall, H. D. Dennis, F. M. Osborne, J. H. Grute, Morrison Foster, J. A. Anderson, John Bustard, R. Sharrard.

Illinois—A. L. Sweet, Chicago; E. L. Monser, Wenona; Miner T. Ames, Minonk; John Kangley, Streator; Taylor Williams, Steele; N. Duncan, LaSalle; Horace S. Clark, Mattoon; E. T. Bent, Oglesby; E. S. Wilcox, Peoria; T. B. Corey, Braidwood; John C. Campbell, Streator; C. P. Wheeler, Braidwood.

Indiana—A. H. Woodruff, C. P. Walker, J. R. Kendall, Joseph Martin, W. H. Perry, W. H. Zimmerman, R. S. Tennant, J. S. Tally, Ed Wilton, M. A. Johnson, John Watson, A. J. Crawford, T. M. Zigler, J. T. Muclepleck, P. Ehrlich, S. N. Yeoman, A. M. Ogle, W. W. Hubbard, T. Richards, Henry T. Neal, George F. Richards, S. Kauffmann, David Ingle, John L. Stevens, Thomas W. Tiley.

Pennsylvania—William McCreary, Rodger Hartley, T. B. Robbins, John Blythe, W. J. Steen, N. F. Sanford, William A. Black, John E. McCrickart, George W. Schluderberg, D. M. Anderson, John M. Risher, W. J. Morgan, F. R. Layng, F. M. Osborne, J. W. Shiels, Robert Latimer, J. H. Dewees, A. J. McCarty, J. W. Stoner, A. Dempster, Ed Fisher.

Miners.

Ohio—John McBride, N. R. Hysell, John H. Taylor, W. H. Bassett, George Harrison, James Murray, Hugh Lynch, Daniel Davis, C. M. Cline, Joseph Smart, Henry Dozier, Chris Evans, Thomas Price, James McKee, V. E. Sullivan, W. T. Lewis, James O'Donnell, Linan L. Jones, W. Watkins, Thomas Cole, Andrew Aveli.

Illinois—E. M. Hall, Adam Brooks, David Ross, William Gardner, James Rowen, F. E. Floyd, A. W. Payne, P. H. Donnelly, James Lee, T. J. Armstrong, John Lee, Patrick McCall, Robert McKennon, Mathew Coulson, Wilskill Raine.

Indiana—John Duddey, Sim Cooper, Thomas Patterson, John Wilson, Newton Liddell, J. S. Newport, Lewis J. Barker, George Potts, William Norman, James Cantwell, W. D. Gray, P. H. Penna, Samuel Anderson, William Houston, Henry Hargraves.

Pennsylvania — John Britt, Charles E. Wallace, Patrick McBryde, W. G. Barker, Frank Taylor, Hugh Leonard, J. Lynn, A. Williams.

West Virginia—M. F. Moran.

On motion the report was received.

The report of the secretary of the national arbitration and conciliation board was called for and read as follows:

Secretary's Report.

“To the Joint Conference of Miners and Operators, in Convention Assembled, February 8, 1887, at Columbus, Ohio:

“Gentlemen—As secretary of the joint board of arbitration and conciliation, elected at the joint convention one year ago, it seems proper that I should give a brief history of the work done by that board.

“At the close of the conference held February 24, 1886, the board was organized, and elected Oscar Townsend of Cleveland, Ohio, president, and Chris Evans of New Straitsville, Ohio, Secretary.

“The first meeting of the board was held in the Ohio Coal Exchange rooms, Columbus, Ohio, April 28, 1886, and the following named States were represented by operators and miners: Ohio, Illinois, Indiana and West Virginia. Pennsylvania was not represented by either miners or operators. Messrs. P. L. Kimberly and D. R. Brooks, operators, of Wheeling, West Virginia, presented a grievance to the board, which, after due consideration, was considered local in character and not a proper question for adjustment by the national board. The next question considered was the reduction of hours in and around the mines. After a lengthy discussion on the question, the following resolution was jointly agreed upon:

“‘Resolved, That on account of the disturbed condition of labor throughout the entire country, and the fact that the operators on this committee do not feel that they have any authority to act for their State on the question of adopting eight hours as a day's work, we therefore recommend that all operators on this board be requested to call a meeting of operators in their respective States at an early date to consider the eight-hour question, and instruct their representatives on this board so that they can, at their July meeting, come with power to act, when some general action shall be taken on this question.’

“Rules to govern the action of the board were then adopted and the meeting adjourned.

“On September 6, 1886, another meeting was held at the Hotel English, Indianapolis, Indiana. Representatives of min-

ers and operators were present from Ohio, Illinois and Indiana. Pennsylvania and West Virginia were not represented by either miners or operators. The question of reducing the hours of labor in and around the mines was again discussed at this meeting, and the following resolution adopted:

“Whereas, The lack of uniformity in the hours of labor in the mines is a source of much trouble between miners and mine operators, some working nine and others eleven hours; be it

“Resolved, That we, the members of the operators' and miners' joint board of arbitration and conciliation recommend that a uniform number of hours of labor in and around the mines be fully considered and acted upon at the annual joint meeting of miners and mine operators to be held in Columbus, Ohio, on the second Tuesday of February, 1887.”

“A letter was then read by the secretary from Woodruff and Trunkey Bros. of Indiana complaining of being unjustly dealt with by the scale of prices adopted. Messrs. Patrick McAdams and J. R. Kendall of Indiana were appointed a committee to investigate the trouble with a view of adjusting the difficulty that existed, after which the meeting adjourned.

“The third and last meeting was held at the Bates House, Indianapolis, Indiana, December 7, 1886, for the purpose of considering a grievance presented by the State board of miners and operators of the State of Indiana. The question was presented to the board by letter, as follows:

“Indianapolis, Indiana, November 26, 1886.

“Oscar Townsend, Esq., President Interstate Board of Miners and Operators for Arbitration and Conciliation, Cleveland, Ohio:

“Dear Sir—A question of difference as to the meaning of the Pittsburg scale, as adopted at Columbus, Ohio, February 24, 1886, has arisen in the block coal region of this State—the miners claiming that the 80-cent price named in said scale was a minimum price for mining block coal, while the operators claim that it was both a minimum and a maximum price to be paid the block coal miner. The miners and block coal operators failing to reach any agreement on this question, the miners appealed to the State joint board of miners and operators for a settlement of this difference. Said joint board, at a meeting called and held at Brazil, Indiana, on the 23d inst. for the purpose of considering this question, and failing to reach any satisfactory conclusion, the following resolution was offered by A. J. Crawford, a member of said joint board, to wit:

“Resolved, That the question as to whether eighty (80) cents per ton, as fixed at Columbus meeting on 23d of Febru-

ary, 1886, is a minimum and maximum or minimum price for mining said coal, be submitted to the interstate board of arbitration and conciliation for its decision.

"This resolution was adopted, and the president of said joint board instructed to certify the proceedings of this meeting to the president of the interstate board and request him to issue a call immediately of the interstate board that a prompt decision of this question may be had.

"I would respectfully urge that you take immediate action in the premises, as the miners of said district make a claim that there has been an attempt on the part of the operators to delay and evade this issue. I remain,

"Yours very respectfully,

"S. N. YEOMAN,

"President Joint Board Arbitration and Conciliation.

"Attest: JOHN DUDDEY, Secretary.'

"After the reading of this statement the board decided to allow the representatives of both miners and operators to argue the case before the members of the board, which was done in a very able and spirited manner. After all parties had been heard that were directly interested, the board entered into a lively discussion on the question and arrived at the following conclusion:

"Whereas, The miners and operators of the block coal mines of Indiana having disagreed as to whether the scale of prices adopted at Columbus (Ohio) convention gave maximum or minimum rates to the localities named therein, and having referred this question to the interstate board of arbitration and conciliation for interpretation, we, the members of said board believed that said prices should apply only to coal of average working thickness, clear of all obstructions. But inasmuch as this question was not thoroughly considered in the joint convention of miners and operators, and being so far-reaching in its complications as to affect other mining districts, we would advise that the entire question be referred to the joint convention to be held in Columbus, Ohio, on the second Tuesday of February, 1887, and in the meantime that the miners and operators of Indiana meet and endeavor to agree upon an average thickness of workable coal upon which a standard price may be set after the expiration of this year, so that in the future no disputes of this kind shall arise.

"We further believe that while we might determine this question now, yet if once adjusted by the common consent of miners and operators it will be much more acceptable to all parties and be the means of encouraging them to continue the good work commenced nearly one year ago.'

"It will be seen by the work done that the board, feeling unable to decide upon some questions that came before it, have recommended that such questions be taken into consideration and acted upon by this joint convention, and upon these points I desire to call your attention in order that the representatives present may be able to act intelligently upon them.

"First. You will observe that the question of adopting a uniform number of hours has been referred to this convention for final action.

"Second. That the grievance presented by the joint State board of Indiana has also been referred to this body for final adjustment.

"Third. The adoption of a scale of prices for the ensuing year in such States as are here represented by both miners and operators.

"In the consideration of these questions let us bear in mind that while we have not reached our highest aspirations, we have been more successful than many of our friends anticipated.

"The movement inaugurated one year ago has been instrumental in bringing about a much better feeling between miners and operators. Its influence has contributed largely toward the present improved condition of the coal trade generally. We have been often told that the bitter feeling which existed between miners and operators could never be removed. That a restoration of confidence between us was impossible. In this, however, much progress has been made, and we trust that it will be enlarged upon. Miners and operators were present when this movement was inaugurated that have been engaged in some of the most bitter conflicts that were ever contested, yet I feel proud to say that among them can be found some of the warmest supporters in the present movement.

"Local difficulties have taken place in many instances, but in a general way many troubles have been avoided that would otherwise have caused serious loss to both miners and operators.

"To prevent a repetition of these grievances all representatives should act in a spirit of fairness toward each other. Work with a conscientious determination to do what is right and just, and in the end no one will have any cause to regret that he has taken a part in substituting reason for brute force in establishing friendly relations between the miner and his employer and in helping to bring about one of the grandest reformatations that has ever been known to the mining industry of our country.

"CHRIS EVANS, Secretary."

The report of the secretary of the interstate arbitration and conciliation board was adopted and ordered printed with the proceedings and copies forwarded to the representatives.

The secretary-treasurer was also authorized to use his own discretion in the matter of printing the same.

On motion a committee on order of business was selected as follows:

Operators—Morrison Foster, Ohio; R. S. Tennant, Indiana; E. T. Bent, Illinois; Alexander Dempster, Pennsylvania.

Miners—Ohio, N. R. Hysell; Indiana, James Cantwell; Pennsylvania, William Barker; Illinois, Robert McKennon.

On motion the credentials of George W. Hercules of West Virginia were referred to the proper committee.

On motion a committee of two was appointed to secure a more suitable hall in which to meet in the morning. Committee, J. S. Morton and David Patterson.

Adjourned until 9 a. m. •

WEDNESDAY SESSION, FEBRUARY 9, 1887.

Convention met at Lyndon Hall, which was secured as a more suitable place to hold the meeting.

At the appointed time the president, S. N. Yeoman, called the convention to order, and the committee on rules and order of business made their report as follows:

“1. Fixing a basis of representation.

“2. Consideration of report of committee on fixing scale of prices for next year.

“3. Consideration of matter referred to national board of arbitration and conciliation.

“4. Fixing time and place of adjournment.

Committee.

“Operators—Morrison Foster, Ohio; R. S. Tennant, Indiana; E. T. Bent, Illinois; Alexander Dempster, Pennsylvania.

“Miners—N. R. Hysell, Ohio; James Cantwell, Indiana; William Barker, Pennsylvania; Robert McKennon, Illinois. Morrison Foster, chairman; R. S. Tennant, secretary.”

Mr. McBride of Ohio moved to amend the report by inserting as second order, “The formation of State and interstate boards of arbitration and conciliation,” which was accepted, and the report as amended was adopted.

Lewis James and William R. Apblett, miners, and Col. J. J. Laurence and E. Saeger, operators, were reported as delegates and given seats in the convention.

N. R. Hysell moved that the basis of representation be the same as at the last convention—eight votes to each State, evenly divided, four to miners and four to operators, which was adopted.

John McBride offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

“Resolved, That a board of arbitration and conciliation, consisting of two miners and two operators from each State, be elected by this convention, and that all questions of an interstate or national character be submitted to this board for adjustment, and should the board fail to agree upon the questions presented, a disinterested party shall be selected by them, whose decision shall be final. Where State boards have been elected the same conditions as above stated shall be in force, and in such States as are here represented State boards shall be formed and comply with the same conditions as govern the national and State boards already organized.”

Moved that the order of business be suspended and a joint committee on scale elected for the coming year. Adopted.

The committee was elected as follows:

Operators — Illinois, E. T. Bent and John C. Campbell; Indiana, R. S. Tennant and W. H. Zimmerman; Ohio, John Brashear and Oscar Townsend; Pennsylvania, Rodger Hartley and George W. Schludenburg.

Miners—Illinois, David Ross and Adam Brooks; Indiana, P. H. Penna and William Norman; Ohio, John McBride and Lewis James; Pennsylvania, John Britt and Patrick McBryde.

The convention then adjourned until 2 p. m.

Afternoon Session.

The meeting was called to order, with President S. N. Yeoman in the chair.

The formation of an interstate or national board of arbitration and conciliation was then agreed upon as follows:

Miners—Illinois, Daniel McLaughlin and T. J. Armstrong; Indiana, Henry Hargrave and William Houston; Ohio, Chris Evans and John McBride; Pennsylvania, John Britt and W. G. Barker.

Operators, Illinois, E. T. Bent and M. T. Ames; Indiana, J. R. Kendall and W. H. Zimmerman; Ohio, H. L. Chapman and Oscar Townsend; Pennsylvania, John Blythe and George W. Schludenberg.

Moved that the selection of State boards be referred to their respective States. Adopted.

The chairman called the attention of the convention to the fact that an assessment was necessary to meet current expenses, upon which the sum of \$80.69 was collected.

The following resolution was adopted:

“Resolved, That members of this convention shall be allowed to speak but twice on any question until all others shall have had an opportunity to speak, and shall be limited to five minutes on each question.”

The following resolution was offered by Mr. Clark of Illinois.

“Resolved, That it is the sense of this convention that the operators of Mattoon, Illinois, not represented in the last joint convention, who have advanced the price of mining coal 5 cents per ton since the first day of May last, shall be regarded as having complied with the requirements of such convention to the same extent as though then present.”

Adopted.

Mr. Morrison Foster of Ohio offered the following:

“Resolved, That a committee of four (4) from each State, two (2) miners and two (2) operators, be appointed by the States, whose duty it shall be to meet at Pittsburg four days before the next meeting of the convention and prepare a scale of prices and report the same to the convention, each State to notify the secretary of the interstate board the names of members selected by them.”

Adopted.

While waiting for the report of the committee on scale of prices the convention was addressed by Colonel Rend, Ed Wilton, N. F. Sanford, William McCreary and others, after which the convention adjourned until 7 o'clock p. m.

Evening Session.

The meeting was called to order by Chairman Colonel Yeoman.

President Yeoman having been called home through sickness, William McCreary of Pennsylvania was, on motion, elected vice-president of the convention.

After several speeches were made, and being informed that the committee on scale was not ready to report, the meeting adjourned to meet at 9 o'clock a. m. the following day.

THURSDAY SESSION, FEBRUARY 10, 1887.

The meeting was called to order, with Col. S. N. Yeoman, president, in the chair.

After some preliminaries the committee on scale of prices made a partial report, through R. S. Tennant, member of the committee, as follows:

"Your committee on scale of prices, being unable to agree upon the relative difference between the Hocking and Pittsburg prices, have decided to submit the question, to be acted upon by the convention, as to whether nine (9) or ten (10) cents per ton should be the difference in the scale of prices for the places named."

After considerable discussion a motion was made and agreed to that the relative difference should be nine (9) cents per ton.

This action on the part of the convention gave relief to the committee on scale, and after several speeches the meeting adjourned until 2:30 p. m.

Afternoon Session.

The meeting was called to order, Col. S. N. Yeoman, president, in the chair.

After some discussion the committee on scale of prices reported as follows:

"Record of conference committee between operators and miners of the interstate convention, held at Columbus, commencing February 8, 1887.

"Committee met at Lyndon Hall, February 9, and organized by electing John McBride chairman and John Brashears secretary.

"The question of carrying out a new scale was then taken up and discussed, and the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That the scale of prices agreed upon shall not take effect and remain in force until those districts which heretofore refused to comply with scale provisions have complied or their mines are idle because of their refusal to comply. A failure to either secure scale prices or keep miners idle because of said failure or refusal shall relieve operators from all obligations to pay scale prices. The power to decide when obligations to pay scale prices shall cease shall be vested in the interstate board of arbitration and conciliation, and the scale shall hold good until the board orders otherwise."

The following scale was unanimously adopted as the scale upon which to base the new scale, from May 1, 1887, to May 1, 1888:

	Cents.		Cents.
Hocking -----	60	Mt. Olive -----	56½
Pennsylvania -----	69	Staunton -----	56½
Reynoldsville and Fairmount -----	65	Springfield -----	62½
Indiana Block -----	80	Mattoon -----	75
Indiana bituminous -----	65	Minunk, Illinois -----	85
Wilmington, Illinois -----	95	Wenona, Illinois -----	90
Streator -----	80	Pana, Illinois -----	56½
Grape Creek -----	75	Lincoln, Illinois -----	62½
LaSalle -----	90	Peoria and Canton districts -----	70
Bloomington -----	95	Spring Valley -----	90

"JOHN BRASHEARS, Secretary."

On motion the report of committee on scale was adopted.

On motion the report as applied to the scale prices at Minunk be referred back to the committee for revision. Adopted.

After considering this question the committee on scale referred the matter to the State arbitration board of Illinois for adjustment, who considered the matter and agreed to place Minunk on the scale at 85 cents per ton instead of 90 cents, as reported by the committee on scale of prices.

The national committee on scale of prices being unable to agree, the meeting adjourned to meet again at 9 o'clock p. m. in the Board of Trade rooms.

On reassembling John McBride of Ohio made the following proposition on the part of the miners:

"Resolved, That an advance of 5 cents per ton in mining rates shall take effect over scale basis on May 1, 1887, and remain in force until September 1, 1887, or until all districts named in the scale have complied with its provisions; when this is accomplished the interstate board shall authorize an additional advance of 5 cents per ton, which shall remain in force until the end of the scale year."

After considerable discussion on the above proposition and a substitute offered by Oscar Townsend of Ohio, a committee consisting of Messrs. McBride and Townsend of Ohio, Campbell and Clark of Illinois, was appointed to draft a compromise proposition. On due consideration of the subject the joint committee having by this time agreed, submitted the following resolution, which was unanimously concurred in:

"Resolved, That the price for mining be advanced 5 cents per ton from May 1 until November 1, 1887, and 5 cents more from November 1, 1887, to May 1, 1888.

"The above shall not take effect until those districts named in the scale shall have complied with the provisions of such scale or are idle by reason of failure to comply, it being hereby delegated to the interstate board of arbitration and concilia-

tion to declare when all districts named in the scale shall have complied substantially with its provisions. It shall be the duty of said board to determine said question of compliance prior to May 15 next and give notice thereof. Upon the first report of such compliance the advance shall take effect as of May 1, 1887."

A vote of thanks was tendered the chairman for the able and impartial manner in which he presided over the deliberations of the convention; to the secretaries for services rendered; to the press reporters, and to the members of the Board of Trade for favors received.

At the close of the meeting, in response to requests, the editors of the *Black Diamond* and the *Coal Trade Journal* expressed in a few well-chosen remarks their appreciation of the principles underlying the movement inaugurated by the national federation, and expressed a willingness to assist in consummating the objects sought to be obtained.

The convention then adjourned.

P. H. DONNELLY,

S. N. YEOMAN, President.

H. C. STANWOOD,

CHRIS EVANS, Secretary.

Assistant Secretaries.

The next joint convention will be held in the city of Pittsburg on the first Tuesday in February, 1888.

The national joint board of arbitration and conciliation was organized by electing Oscar Townsend of Cleveland, Ohio, president, and Christopher Evans of New Straitsville, Ohio, secretary-treasurer.

At the joint conference in February between the operators and miners it was jointly agreed that the price for mining be advanced 5 cents per ton from May 1 until November 1, 1887, and 5 cents more from November 1, 1887, to May 1, 1888, provided other districts named in the scale complied with its provisions or the mines were idle by reason of failure to comply. This provision was made in justice to the operators that were living up to joint agreements made and to enable them to compete in the markets with those not complying with scale provisions. In the southern coal fields of Illinois miners were working for lower rates than were being paid in the northern field, which created considerable dissatisfaction among the northern operators, hence the provision in the scale above referred to.

CHAPTER XXII.

CORRESPONDENCE OF DUAL UNIONS.

The National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers sent National Organizers P. H. Penna, Alexander Johnson, John Fahy and others into southern Illinois, but the majority of organized miners working there were members of National Trades Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, and the organizers' efforts in consequence were of little effect.

With this condition of affairs existing, and the further fact that an advance on mining rates in the competitive field depended on these miners receiving an increase in the wages being paid, at a miners' conference it was

Resolved, That Chris Evans, executive secretary of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, and P. H. Penna of Indiana act as a committee for the national federation to draft a joint circular with representatives of National Trade Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, urging upon the miners to give us their united support in order that we may be able to secure the advance on present mining rates in accordance with the conditions agreed to by the joint conference of operators and miners.

The joint circular follows:

To the Miners and Mine Laborers of the United States and Territories:

At the late conference of miners and operators, held at Columbus, Ohio, February 8 to 11, 1887, for the purpose of adopting a scale of prices for the coming year, the following conditions were jointly agreed upon:

"Resolved, That the price for mining be advanced 5 cents per ton from May 1 until November 1, 1887, and 5 cents more from November 1, 1887, to May 1, 1888. The above shall not take effect until after those districts named in the scale shall have complied with the provisions of such scale or are idle by reason of failure to comply, it being hereby delegated to the interstate board of arbitration and conciliation to declare when all districts named in the scale shall have complied substantially with its provisions. It shall be the duty of said board to determine said question of compliance prior to May

15 next and give notice thereof. Upon the first report of such compliance the advance shall take effect as of May 1, 1887."

To comply with the conditions above named, earnest and energetic work is required by the members of our craft. No stone should be left unturned that will help to establish a uniform scale of prices in all those mining districts that are known to be working at less rates than the scale of prices here presented:

"Hocking, 60 cents per ton; Pennsylvania, 69; Reynolds-ville and Fairmont, 65; Indiana block, 80; Indiana bituminous, 65; Illinois, Wilmington, 95; Streator, 80; Grape Creek, 75; LaSalle, 90; Bloomington, 95; Mt. Olive, Staunton and Pana, 56½; Springfield and Lincoln, 62½; Mattoon, 75; Minonk, 85; Wenona, 90; Peoria and Canton districts, 70; Spring Valley, 90."

As representatives of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, and the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers we urge upon the miners of this country, irrespective of any organization to which you may belong, to prepare for the coming issue. Every miner and mine laborer should work with a determination to succeed in the present emergency by acting in concert, one with another, for the common good of all parties concerned. In order to accomplish this we desire your moral and financial support, and in the end we can not fail to carry out successfully the objects intended.

CHRIS EVANS,
Executive Secretary N. F. of M. and M. L.,
P. H. PENNA,
LEWIS JAMES,
N. S. T. of N. D. A. No. 135,
PATRICK MCBRYDE,

Committee.

Columbus, Ohio, February 12, 1887.

In the interest of the advance proposed the executive secretary of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers issued the following:

OFFICIAL CIRCULAR.

To the Miners and Mine Laborers of the National Federation of the United States and Territories:

Fellow Workingmen—The movement inaugurated by the national federation, about eighteen months ago, is now recognized as having reached that point where experience has practically demonstrated the advanced methods adopted. There are but few among the members of our craft but what seem to realize that we have marked out the proper course for the miners and mine laborers of this country to pursue. The captivating qualifications of the system seems to have changed

the minds of many, as was evidently shown by the increased numbers that participated in our second annual joint meeting with the operators. The successful manner in which the coal trade has been conducted during the past year has won many friends for the movement, and if reason and intelligence predominates in the future the work of the national federation will soon be made manifest to every member of our craft.

The following are the conditions upon which the scale of prices will be advanced the coming year, and we wish to draw your attention to the provisions made:

"Resolved, That the price for mining be advanced 5 cents per ton from May 1 until November 1, 1887, and 5 cents more from November 1, 1887, to May 1, 1888. The above shall not take effect until those districts named in the scale shall have complied with the provisions of such scale or are idle by reason of failure to comply, it being hereby delegated to the interstate board of arbitration and conciliation to declare when all districts named in the scale shall have complied substantially with its provisions. It shall be the duty of said board to determine said question of compliance prior to May 15 next and give notice thereof. Upon the first report of such compliance the advance shall take effect as of May 1, 1887."

To place ourselves in a position to successfully carry out the conditions above named, every member of the national federation will be required to give us that substantial support that will enable us to send organizers to those places that are working below scale prices and have uniform rates secured.

Operators have expressed their willingness to pay good prices provided all operators are treated alike. And in justice to operators and miners it is our duty to use every effort to advance the rates in those places that are working below last year's prices in order to justify those miners and operators that are being deprived of their equal portion of the trade through the low rates that are being paid in the districts referred to. For the reasons above stated, and for the purpose of using all honorable means to secure advanced rates for the coming year, we hereby notify all members of the national federation that have not collected the twenty-five (25) cents defense fund to collect the same and forward it to the national treasurer, Hon. Daniel McLaughlin, State House, Springfield, Illinois, on or before the first day of April, 1887, trusting that all members will see the urgent necessity of a strict compliance with the above provisions.

Very truly yours,

CHRIS EVANS, Executive Secretary.

New Straitsville, Ohio, March 1, 1887.

At a meeting of the executive board of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, held at Chicago, the question of holding a joint conference between the national boards of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, and the National Federation of Miners was freely discussed, after which the executive secretary was authorized to notify the secretary of National District Assembly No. 135, and the following letter was written in line with the action of the national executive board:

Chicago, Illinois, April 4, 1887.

Mr. Lewis James, Secretary N. D. A No. 135, K. of L., New Straitsville, Ohio:

Dear Sir—I hereby submit the following proposition adopted by our national executive board at a meeting held at the Briggs House, Chicago, Illinois, April 2, 1887, to wit:

“Whereas, At a conference held at Columbus, Ohio, February 28, 1887, between J. D. Conway, M. W., and W. T. Lewis, secretary of Sub-District No. 6 of N. D. A. No. 135, K. of L., and concurred in by W. H. Bailey, M. W. of N. D. A. No. 135 on the part of the K. of L., and John McBride, president of the O. M. A. A., and N. R. Hysell, vice-president of the O. M. A. A. and member of the executive board of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, it was suggested that there be a meeting held between the two national executive boards, N. D. A. No. 135, K. of L., and National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, for the purpose of formulating some plan to be submitted to the miners and mine laborers of the United States and Territories whereby we can harmonize the interest of all concerned; and

“Whereas, We believe that it is our duty as representatives of the miners to work for the general welfare of every member of our craft; therefore, be it

“Resolved, That we are ready to meet with the executive board of N. D. A. No. 135, K. of L. to devise ways and means to further the objects named at any time and place they may designate, and the executive secretary of the national federation is hereby authorized to notify the secretary of N. D. A. No. 135, K. of L., of our willingness to meet their board as before stated.”

Respectfully yours,
CHRIS EVANS, Executive Secretary.

N. B.—Please address your reply to Chris Evans, executive secretary, New Straitsville, Ohio.

No reply having been received to the letter sent to the secretary of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, on the action taken by the executive board of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, on April 14, 1887, John McBride, in a long communication to W. H. Bailey, Master Workman of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, called his attention to the advisability of taking some action towards getting the two boards together, because the interstate board of miners and operators would meet before May 15, and upon the unification of the mining forces depended largely whether or not the miners would get the advances in mining rates jointly agreed to. McBride said:

If the scale fails before we have an understanding, it will be because southern Illinois fails to comply with its provisions. No. 135 has control of that field, and because of this they would be held responsible for the injury inflicted upon miners of all districts interested in scale rates.

The McBride letter also stated that the federation miners had little confidence in W. H. Bailey because of his expressed hatred of trades unions.

In reply to McBride's letter dated April 25, 1887, Master Workman W. H. Bailey said:

The accusation that I am a bitter opponent of trades unions is not correct, and I have never so expressed myself. I have no personal motive in defending the course taken by the order of the Knights of Labor, but simply regard it as a duty, believing said course to be right, and that all the evils or wrongs to which our people are subjected can be righted under that power better than in any other way.

He also said:

I deem it best to defer any action until the district meets. I have ordered Lewis James, district recording secretary of District Assembly No. 135, to notify Mr. Chris Evans that our board will meet the board of the federation at time and place of the meeting of District Assembly No. 135.

With best wishes I remain,

Fraternally yours,

W. H. BAILEY,

Master Workman, District Assembly No. 135.

A few days later the following letter was received:

New Straitsville, Ohio, April 28, 1887.

Chris Evans, Esq., Executive Secretary National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, New Straitsville, Ohio:

Dear Sir—Your favor of the 4th inst. to hand, and by direction of the national executive board of District Assembly No. 135, I am authorized to reply to your invitation as follows: The executive board of National District Assembly No. 135 will meet the national executive board of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio, at the Dennison Hotel, Main and Fifth streets, June 3, 1887, at 10 o'clock a. m.

Very respectfully yours,

LEWIS JAMES, N. S. T.

As per agreement, and conditions upon which mining rates should be advanced for the year 1887, at the joint conference of miners and operators held at Columbus, Ohio, in February, there were two joint conferences held in May, and the result of their deliberations follow:

OFFICIAL CIRCULAR.

To the Miners and Operators of the United States and Territories:

At the meeting of the joint board of arbitration and conciliation, held at the Neil House, Columbus, Ohio, May 4, 1887, to decide upon the question of granting the advanced scale of prices for the ensuing year, the operators of Ohio, Indiana and Pennsylvania were a unit in granting advanced rates without any conditions; but objections were raised by the operators of Illinois, on the ground that the provisions agreed upon had not been substantially complied with, and in order to more fully meet the conditions referred to the following resolutions were unanimously agreed upon:

“Resolved, That the conditions of the scale as contemplated by the February convention, strictly construed, have not been substantially complied with, but so much progress has been made toward the fulfillment of its requirements and the outlook for a full compliance at an early date being good, we deem it expedient and wise to grant additional time to the miners to enable them to succeed in the establishment of prices mutually agreed upon and hereby declare that the 5 cents per ton advance shall take effect May 1, 1887, and remain in force as originally intended, or until such times as some district

named in the scale has failed to comply with its provisions, or the miners or mines of said district have resumed work at prices below those named for that district.

"Resolved further, That the chairman of the board, upon information that the scale prices are not being complied with, shall convene the board at as early a date as possible, and the members of the board shall, even by a tie vote, have power to declare the provisions of the scale non-effective."

To successfully consummate the true objects sought to be obtained by our joint board, we trust that both miners and operators will act in a spirit of fairness in carrying out the above agreement jointly entered into.

Very truly yours,

OSCAR TOWNSEND, President.
CHRIS EVANS, Secretary.

May 6, 1887.

OFFICIAL CIRCULAR OF THE JOINT BOARD OF ARBITRATION AND
CONCILIATION OF MINERS AND OPERATORS.

To the Miners and Operators of the United States and Territories:

At the meeting of the joint board, held in room 60, Commercial Bank Building, Dearborn street, Chicago, Illinois, May 18, 1887, the following resolution was agreed upon, the members on the board representing the operators of Illinois voting in the negative:

"Resolved, That the resolution passed at the meeting of the board, at Columbus, Ohio, May 4, holds good during the month of May, but should the conditions of the scale adopted at the interstate convention not be complied with, according to the interpretation of the Illinois operators, by the 21st day of June next, the board shall meet and declare that all parties interested shall be relieved from their obligations."

Resolution of May 4, above referred to, reads as follows:

"Resolved, That the conditions of the scale as contemplated by the February convention, strictly construed, have not been substantially complied with, but so much progress has been made toward the fulfillment of its requirements and the outlook for a full compliance at an early date being good, we deem it expedient and wise to grant additional time to the miners to enable them to succeed in the establishment of prices mutually agreed upon and hereby declare that the 5 cents per ton advance shall take effect May 1, 1887, and remain in force as originally intended, or until such times as some district

named in the scale has failed to comply with its provisions, or the miners or mines of said district have resumed work at prices below those named for that district.

"Resolved further, That the chairman of the board, upon information that the scale prices are not being complied with, shall convene the board at as early a date as possible, and the members of the board shall, even by a tie vote, have power to declare the provisions of the scale non-effective."

After the passage of the resolution of May 18, the members on the board from Illinois, representing the operators, entered their protest as follows:

"We, the operators of northern Illinois, hereby protest against the advance of 5 cents per ton ordered by the national committee of operators and miners, the 4th day of May, 1887, to be paid by the operators of northern Illinois. We protest against this advance as unjust and unfair, because the conditions of the resolution under which said advance was to be paid have not been fulfilled."

The resolution adopted at Columbus, February 8, 1887, reads as follows:

"Resolved, That the price for mining be advanced 5 cents per ton from May 1 until November 1, 1887, and 5 cents more from November 1, 1887, to May 1, 1888. The above shall not take effect until those districts named in the scale shall have complied with the provisions of such scale or are idle by reason of failure to comply, it being hereby delegated to the interstate board of arbitration and conciliation to declare when all districts named in the scale shall have complied substantially with its provisions. It shall be the duty of said board to determine said question of compliance prior to May 15 next, and give notice thereof. Upon the first report of such compliance the advance shall take effect as of May 1, 1887."

We desire to put ourselves on record as being entirely willing to carry out our part of the agreement when said conditions are complied with, and as proof that we have from the beginning been in hearty sympathy with the movement to combine harmoniously the interests of miners and operators, we refer to the fact that during mining year, from May 1, 1886, to May 1, 1887, we did pay the advance ordered by the Columbus convention, February 8, 1886, notwithstanding the fact that the scale was not complied with by the operators of central and southern Illinois; but on the contrary the miners accepted less per ton than was given before the adoption of the scale at Columbus. We now submit to all fair-minded men that a further advance on our part until the central and southern Illinois operators are brought up to the Columbus

scale and the further advance of 5 cents per ton is unreasonable and unjust, and in justice to ourselves and the interests we represent we cannot and will not pay any advance until all the conditions of the resolution herein are fully complied with.

In compliance with the decision of the board, we submit the action taken for the careful consideration of both miners and operators.

Very truly yours,

OSCAR TOWNSEND, President.

CHRIS EVANS, Secretary.

May 19, 1887.

The following joint circular on the same question was issued in the month of June:

OFFICIAL CIRCULAR OF THE JOINT BOARD OF ARBITRATION AND
CONCILIATION OF MINERS AND OPERATORS.

To the Miners and Operators of the United States and Territories:

At the meeting of the joint board, held at Chicago, Illinois, May 18, 1887, the following resolution was agreed upon, the members of the board from Illinois voting in the negative:

"Resolved, That the resolution passed at the meeting of the board at Columbus, Ohio, May 4, holds good during the month of May, but should the conditions of the scale adopted at the interstate convention not be complied with, according to the interpretation of the Illinois operators, by the 21st day of June next, the board shall meet and declare that all parties interested shall be relieved from their obligations."

After the passage of the above resolution the Illinois members entered a protest against it, stating that it was unjust and unfair because the conditions of the resolution under which said advance was to be paid had not been fulfilled. During the interval between May 18 and June 21 it was deemed advisable by several members of the interstate board to call a joint meeting of the members of the State boards of Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania prior to the meeting, June 21, in order that the interstate board might have a general understanding with the members of the State board before taking final action on the question, as it had become very complicated, and upon their decision rested the entire question as to whether the joint movement that had given such satisfactory results during the past year should continue, or whether it should be allowed to fall to pieces and re-enact the former mode of warfare to adjust differences.

As a result of the above conclusions, a conference of the State boards was held, and the recommendations were of such a nature as to give entire satisfaction to the interstate board, and the following was unanimously agreed upon:

"Whereas, The interstate board of arbitration and conciliation, at an adjourned meeting held at Indianapolis, Indiana, June 21, 1887, having had under consideration the question of continuation or nullification of scale provisions, deem it wise and expedient to waive all other considerations and adopt the recommendations of the operators' State boards of Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania, which read as follows:

"In view of the fact that the conditions upon which an advance was authorized by the Columbus convention have not been complied with, we regard the base scale of 1887 devoid of any advance, as in force and binding upon both operators and miners; but in recognition of the efforts made by the miners to secure the advance by bringing all districts up to the scale, and as a further evidence of our belief of the fundamental principle of our organization—'arbitration and conciliation'—we are willing to declare an advance of 5 cents above the base scale as fixed at the Columbus convention of February 10, 1887, for six months, viz: From May 1, 1887, to November 1, 1887; but if on November 1, 1887, the mining districts of Illinois are not paying the Columbus scale prices for 1887, then the further advance of 5 cents shall not be granted; but the price from November 1, 1887, to May 1, 1888, shall remain the same as from May 1, 1887, to November 1, 1887."

The board will meet again on or before the 15th day in the month of November, 1887, to decide the question of a further advance of 5 cents per ton, in accordance with the above provisions.

Very truly yours,

OSCAR TOWNSEND, President.

CHRIS EVANS, Secretary.

June 23, 1887.

On receiving no encouragement from the board of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, that any joint understanding could be arrived at before the joint meeting of operators and miners in May, the following letter was sent to their secretary:

New Straitsville, Ohio, May 10, 1887.

Mr. Lewis James, Secretary National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor:

Dear Sir—In reply to yours of April 28, 1887, asking the national executive board of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers to meet your national executive board at Cincinnati, Ohio, on the third day of your annual convention, I am authorized by the national executive board of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers to write you as follows:

“Whereas, This board having been led to understand that it was the desire of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, to bring about harmonious relations between their organizations and the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, and also believing that the executive board of National District Assembly No. 135 was fully empowered to act on behalf of their organization, the members of this board, at a meeting held in Chicago, Illinois, April 2, 1887, to consider this question notified the executive board of National District Assembly No. 135 that we would meet at any time and place they might name; and,

“Whereas, in reply by letters from the master workman and recording secretary of National District Assembly No. 135, we are given to understand that their executive board has no power to enter into any agreement in the absence of a general meeting of their assembly; therefore, be it

“Resolved, That while we desire harmony, we feel that the officers of National District Assembly No. 135 have not acted as honestly as they should have done in meeting our proposition, and because of this we believe that further intercourse between the two boards would result in no good; we have therefore concluded not to meet National District Assembly No. 135 at their convention in Cincinnati, but if members of National District Assembly No. 135 will declare, by resolution, at their annual convention that they desire a consolidation of our respective forces, and will indicate the basis of such consolidation, we pledge ourselves to give a careful consideration to what they submit.

Very respectfully yours,

DANIEL McLAUGHLIN, Chairman.

CHRIS EVANS, Secretary.

At the meeting of the national executive board held at Indianapolis, Indiana, June 22, 1887, of the national federation, a committee appointed at the former meeting to go to Grape

Creek, Illinois, to investigate the strike there reported as follows:

On arriving at Grape Creek, May 11, 1887, we were informed that nine members of the Knights of Labor were blacklegging, some of them saying that they had permits from the officials of the Knights of Labor to work, and on these grounds thought they were not doing anything wrong. About 356 blacklegs were working altogether, producing about one and one-fourth tons of coal per day per man. Number of miners idle depending upon the organization for support, ninety-five—eighty-five with families and ten unmarried persons. Number of persons all told, 439. Number of blocks of houses belonging to the Illinois State Miners' Protective Association, occupied by striking miners, eight, with two families in each house. Three blocks in addition to the above are occupied by idle miners on conditions, and thirty-eight houses were rented April, 1887, by the idle miners at a cost of \$146.50 per month. Weekly receipts for conducting the strike had been about \$500, but for the week previous the committee had ordered \$400 and thought they would be able to reduce the amount to \$300 for the week during our visit. Idle miners seemed well satisfied with the treatment they had received during their lockout and said they were still willing to continue the struggle under the same conditions, provided the officials of the organization thought it was necessary that they should do so in order to protect the prices already paid to miners of other States that were receiving the scale of prices that they themselves were contending for.

THOMAS J. ARMSTRONG,
CHRIS EVANS,
Committee.

After several suggestions by members of the board as to what steps should be taken in the future to provide for the support of the Grape Creek miners, it was

Resolved, To receive the report and waive any further action until the national convention was held at Indianapolis, Indiana, September 6, 1887.

The continuance of rivalry between the members of both miners' national organizations caused repeated activity of wrong doing of the one toward the other, and accusations of impositions practiced were numerous, almost reaching the extreme. On this occasion, from complaints made against members of the federation, the executive board of the Knights

of Labor, after passing several resolutions of condemnation or approval, as the case seemed to merit action on their part, at the second annual convention in June ended their report as follows:

Resolved further, That, feeling fully confident that our National District Assembly No. 135 is able and fully competent to advance and protect the interest of the craft, we now assert our intention to resist any and all encroachments on the rights of our members, whether by the Miners' Amalgamated Association or the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers.

W. H. BAILEY, Chairman.

LEWIS JAMES, Secretary.

DAVID M. EVANS,

WM. R. APBLETT,

THOMAS MCQUADE,

Executive Board of N. D. A. No. 135.

The committee on resolutions of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, at the second annual meeting made the following report:

Document III.

Courtney, Washington County, Pennsylvania, May 28, 1887.

To the Officers of National District Assembly No. 135:

"Sirs and Brothers—I am requested by the brothers of Local Assembly No. 4152 to write you demanding that you bring to the field, at once, northern and central Illinois in order to come to and get the prices demanded by the Columbus scale.
JAMES BARR."

We, your committee, would submit the following in regard to this letter:

First. That the officers and members of National District Assembly No. 135 have done what they agreed to in regard to the securing of the Columbus scale in southern and central Illinois, but they do not claim that they can accomplish impossibilities, which was the case in the region named. By direction of the officers of National District Assembly No. 135, Brothers T. P. James, general lecturer and organizer, and William R. Applett made a complete tour of the district, and after examining into the situation of affairs minutely and presenting the necessity of raising said region up to the scale before our craft, in almost every instance received a vote pledging themselves to work to that end.

But we would state here that nearly three-fifths of all the coal mined in the regions alluded to is mined by machinery, by the day, consequently there was only two-fifths of them interested in the scale. However, on May 7 the division master workman, acting under the direction of the executive board, called the division together to see what could be done, the result of which was the appointment of a committee to confer with the operators who refused to grant the advance.

Now to force two-fifths of the miners in southern Illinois to strike (because it would be hand miners only that would respond) would be futile and sacrifice the only organized labor in the district and leave the entire field for disorganized labor and increase the output of the machine mines, which is almost exclusively disorganized labor. In referring to this matter, contained in the letter under consideration, we would condemn the action of any member, local assembly or division that would fly in hot haste to the press with their petty annoyances or vilify their own organization and its officers when they have no better authority for their action than the enemies of our national district, instead of informing themselves from the proper authority.

Representative McGarvey of Pennsylvania moved that the report of committee be concurred in by this national district assembly. Motion adopted.

In the election of officers for National District Assembly No. 135, on the third ballot William T. Lewis was elected master workman at the second annual convention for the ensuing term.

After the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers had been organized, in 1885 all the members of Local Assembly No. 1506, Knights of Labor, except one were mine workers and became members of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers and paid taxes to both organizations until some months after National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, had organized the second national union of mine workers. From this time forward contention between the two factions reigned supreme, but the members of Local Assembly No. 1506, Knights of Labor, trade unionists to the core, continued their support to the national union that first organized to protect the craft. With two miners' national unions organized, the taxes to maintain both became rather burdensome, and in this dilemma the members of No. 1506, Knights of Labor, refused to contribute to National District Assembly No. 135, but were willing to keep up the local assem-

bly and pay taxes to the general assembly of the Knights of Labor.

After the reduced mining rate of 10 cents per ton of the Hocking valley miners was accepted, in June, 1881, the now executive secretary of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers found it necessary to locate at Carbon Hill, Ohio, where, in 1887, he retained his membership in Local Assembly No. 1506, Knights of Labor, at that point.

The following correspondence explains the feudal work of the two miners' organizations continued:

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, March 21, 1887.

S. S. Fitzgerald, Esq., Carbon Hill, Ohio:

Dear Sir and Brother—By order of the general executive board I am directed to inform you that your assembly stands suspended on the books of the general office until such time as it settles with National District Assembly No. 135. You will, therefore, cease exercising the functions and powers of a local assembly until this suspension is removed.

Hereof please take due notice and govern yourself accordingly.

Yours fraternally,

CHARLES H. LICHTMAN, General Secretary.

On April 10, 1887, replying to the letter received from General Secretary Charles H. Litchman of the Knights of Labor, on suspension, Local Secretary S. S. Fitzgerald of Local Assembly No. 1506, Knights of Labor, in part said:

The officers and members of Local Assembly No. 1506 were tried, convicted and condemned by the executive board of National District Assembly No. 135 without being heard, and demanded that an investigation be made.

On April 22 the local secretary addressed a letter to General Master Workman T. V. Powderly, in which he explained the situation, and received the following reply:

Office of General Executive Board, Knights of Labor.

S. S. Fitzgerald, Esq., Recording Secretary Local Assembly No. 1506:

Dear Sir and Brother—District Assembly No. 135, in session in Cincinnati, passed a resolution requesting the general executive board to revoke the charter of Local Assembly No. 1506 for insubordination.

The board, after carefully considering the case, have decided that the best interests of the order will be served by complying with the request of District Assembly No. 135. You will, therefore, please turn over all the work and property of your local assembly to the master workman of District Assembly No. 135, William T. Lewis, room 37, Clinton building, North High street, Columbus, Ohio.

Fraternally yours,

JOHN W. HAYES,

Secretary General Executive Board.

By this action Local Assembly No. 1506 of the Knights of Labor became a thing of the past, but its members remained true to trades union principles and retained their membership with the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers until the mines were closed.

THE GREAT COKE STRIKE.

In the early part of the year 1887 a strike of considerable magnitude was entered into in the coke region of Pennsylvania. A large number of the coke workers employed were members of either one or the other of the two national unions of mine workers now organized. On June 12 the district board of National Trades Assembly No. 135 of the Knights of Labor met at Everson, Pennsylvania, and after a conference with the superintendent of the works effected an agreement under which they ordered all their members to go to work at Frick & Co.'s works next morning at an advance of 12½ per cent. Monastery, Latrobe and the works at Larimer were not included in the proposition submitted to both organizations and accepted by the Miners' and Laborers' Amalgamated Association. Consequently the Knights of Labor refused to resume. Owing to the advance having been given under protest, the following notice was issued:

Office of H. C. Frick Coke Co.,
Scottdale, Pennsylvania, June 12, 1887.

This is to certify that we intend to start all the works owned or controlled by this company at the advance of 12½ per cent demanded, without any discrimination, and we have not and do not intend to enter into agreement with any part of our employes to the exclusion of our other employes.

THOMAS LYNCH, General Superintendent.

The Knights of Labor were all ordered back to work under the above agreement, and the great coke strike ended after a few days in which 13,000 men were engaged.

The *National Labor Tribune* made further acknowledgment of having received \$28 from the miners of shafts Nos. 1, 2 and 3, at Spring Valley, Illinois, for the John Siney monument fund, making the total received to date \$127.21.

Later the *Tribune* reported that John McBride had severed his connection with the Knights of Labor because he did not believe in giving aid to the enemy, and that President McBride would commence addressing mass-meetings; and while he preferred to meet some members of National District Assembly No. 135 and discuss the merits of the respective organizations, he was willing to go further and meet any member or officer of the Knights of Labor in joint discussion before the miners of Ohio.

On July 19, 1887, the annual convention of Federated Association of Miners and Mine Laborers of Indiana met and elected Robert Fisher, president; John Mushet, vice-president; John Duddey, secretary-treasurer, and Samuel Anderson, auditor. James Cantwell, Joseph Dunkerly and T. F. Bolser were elected as the State executive board.

On August 27, 1887, the *National Labor Tribune* gave notice that subscriptions to the John Siney monument fund would close on the last day of September.

CHAPTER XXIII.

OFFICIAL CALL FOR THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION
OF N. F. OF M. AND M. L.

General Office of the National Federation of Miners and
Mine Laborers.

New Straitsville, Ohio, July 5, 1887.

To the Miners and Mine Laborers of the United States and
Territories:

Fellow Workmen—In accordance with Article VII of the revised constitution of the national federation, you are hereby notified that the third annual convention will be held at Indianapolis, Indiana, commencing at 2 o'clock p. m., on Tuesday, September 6, 1887.

The representation will be one delegate to each one hundred members or the fractional part thereof, and all miners and mine laborers not heretofore represented can secure representation by the payment of five (5) cents per member; but no representation will be allowed unless the per capita tax is paid as above provided for.

In order to keep pace with the work required and to enable us to more successfully meet the growing demands of our organization, the national executive board has unanimously agreed to recommend the following:

1. The election of a national president, with a salary sufficient to enable him to give his whole time and attention to the duties of his office.

2. The advisability of combining the offices of secretary and treasurer.

3. The practicability of increasing the national monthly per capita tax, which at present is 1 cent per member per month.

A national executive board will also be elected, and with the adoption of these recommendations, together with such other changes as will be found necessary in order to better protect the general interest of our mining craft. Neither monopolistic repulsion nor the antipathy of the avowed enemies of our national federation can prevent us from marching onward and consummating that grand and meritorious object the national federation has always sought to obtain.

We would suggest that all our members consider carefully the above suggestions and make every effort to be fully represented.

Very truly yours,

CHRIS EVANS, Executive Secretary.

N. B.—Hotel accommodations have been secured at the Hotel English; terms, \$1.50 per day. Hall for convention will be near the hotel.

DISTRICT JOINT AGREEMENTS IN OHIO.

April 15, 1887.

We, the undersigned representatives of the Belmont Coal Company, Ohio, and Pittsburg Coal Works Company, Ohio, and their employes hereby agree that the price per ton for mining coal at the above named mines shall be reduced $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per ton, or from $62\frac{1}{2}$ to 60 cents per ton, same as paid at the railroad mines in the Sixth district of the Ohio Miners' Amalgamated Association, and that hereafter the prices at the above named mines shall rise and fall with and be the same as paid and ruling at the mines in said district.

Signed—

On behalf of Belmont Coal Company,

W. S. HEATHERINGTON.

On behalf of Pittsburg Coal Works Company,

L. ROCKMOHOUSES.

On behalf of Miners' Association,

GEORGE HARRISON, District President.

JAMES TYPLCO,

JOHN BEVERIDGE,

THEODORE GREENWOOD,

JAMES PATTERSON,

Miners' Committee.

Article of Agreement.

We, the undersigned representatives of operators and miners of Monarch mine, Dennison, Ohio, do hereby agree and decide that the price paid by the operators and accepted by the miners for May 1, 1887, for mining run of mine coal shall be 50 cents per ton, as compared with 65 cents in the Hocking valley for screened coal, and that any general advance or decline of mining price in Ohio shall be proportioned by the then existing unchanged prices paid for run of mine coal at Monarch and screened coal in Hocking, and the result shall

be added or deducted, as the case may be, and shall determine the amount of differences to be made in price per ton for run of mine coal at said Monarch mine.

This agreement, however, shall not prevent the opening of the question of wages and readjustment of prices by either party at any time and submitting it as an open question to arbitration.

On behalf of Operators,

I. C. ALLEN, Vice-President.

On behalf of Miners' Association,

GEORGE HARRISON, President Sixth District.

Youngstown, Ohio, June 30, 1887.

Article of agreement by and between the operators of the mine at Washingtonville, Ohio, and N. R. Hysell, representative of the miners of said mines. Agree that the price of mining shall be 87½ cents per ton until such time as the Shenango miners are up to Columbus scale.

Walter & Ferris, per J. M. WALTER.

N. R. HYSELL, for Miners.

Joint Agreement of Miners and Operators of Tuscarawas Valley, Adopted at Massillon, Ohio, July 5, 1887, to Take Effect July 1, 1887.

1. Standard thickness of coal shall be four feet and over.

2. When mining rates are fixed at 75 cents to 95 cents per ton all coal below standard thickness shall be paid for at the rate of 4 cents per ton additional for each three inches below said standard thickness.

3. When mining rates are fixed at 75 cents per ton the price for driving single-shift entries shall be \$2 per yard, and for every advance or decline of 10 cents per ton in mining rates an advance or decline of 25 cents per yard shall be made in entry price. Double shift entries shall be paid 25 cents per yard additional. Wet entries shall be paid such additional price per yard as may be agreed upon by the entrymen and mine boss.

4. "Break-throughs" of all kinds \$1.50 per yard, based on 80 cents per ton for mining, price of yardage to advance and decline in proportion to mining rates.

5. When mining rates are fixed at 75 to 95 cents per ton, miners shall be paid an additional 5 cents per ton for every six inches of slate or dirt that comes down unavoidably over the coal.

6. When miners are compelled to lift bottom or rip top for roadways they shall be paid at the rate of not less than 5 cents per inch in thickness, per yard in length.

7. Room miners shall pay the company 1 cent per ton and the entrymen $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents per ton for blacksmithing.

8. The company shall provide props, caps and rails of suitable length and thickness and place them convenient to the mouth of the mine.

9. Where water is met with in either rooms or entries the company shall either remove it so as not to delay the miners in their work or pay the miners for removing it at a rate per hour based on the roadmen's daily wages or its equivalent per ton.

10. "Horsebacks" shall be paid for as agreed upon by miners interested and mine bosses.

11. Price of powder per keg, when mining is 75 cents per ton, shall be \$2.25, and for every advance or decline of 10 cents per ton in mining rates there shall be an advance or decline of 25 cents per keg in price of powder; but miners may purchase where they please.

12. When miners are required to load coal to be paid for on the "brush coal" or "run of mine" coal system they shall be paid for all such coal at the rate per ton of three-fourths of the price paid for screened coal, 2,000 pounds to the ton.

13. Room turning shall be paid for at the price of one yard of single entry.

14. Roadmen and drivers shall be paid \$1.92 per day, but shall purchase their own oil.

15. House coal to miners, when mining is 80 cents per ton, shall be \$2 per ton.

Signed on behalf of miners—

JOHN MCBRIDE.
D. MOYLAN.
JOHN THOMAS.
JOHN P. POLLOCK.
W. H. BASSETT.

Signed on behalf of operators—

A. HOWELLS.
FRED REESE.
WILLIAM PHILIP.
J. P. BURTON.
R. KELLER.

CHAPTER XXIV.

OHIO SEMI-MONTHLY PAY LAW.

For several years a semi-monthly pay law was one of the leading questions agitated by the miners throughout the entire country where coal was being mined. Payment of wages at shorter intervals had given rise to arguments and newspaper correspondence in all mining centers, because of the belief that it would help the miner to deal a sharp blow against the pluck-me system or company store that had invariably charged more for goods than could be procured at independent stores.

In the early eighties the old *National Labor Tribune*, the official organ of the mine workers, was the medium by which the question was discussed from every line of thought. Arguments were advanced by some writers that more frequent payments would enable the miner to use wages due to greater advantage by going to the market of his choice for provisions needed for the family support. The miner's life, as a rule, had been one of an impoverished kind because of his inability to get cash sufficient to maintain his family during the long-drawn-out space of time between pay days which compelled him to purchase provisions at high-price company stores when similar goods could be procured at lower rates elsewhere, provided he received wages due him weekly or semi-monthly by which said purchases could be made.

The employers' side presented another picture — that shorter pay days would have a tendency to increase the workers' desire for more drinks, and in consequence would cause him to work less time and thereby deprive his family much more than he could under the long pay rule.

Let this be as it may, the fact remains that the mine worker is entitled and should be privileged to receive wages earned in the shortest space of time compatible with a safe margin of time to make the necessary change, or, in other words, give him the freedom of thought and action that is due to all mankind.

Evidently with this thought in mind the miners of Ohio, after a struggle of years, with the assistance of friends, brought sufficient bearing upon the Ohio Legislature to cause the passage of the following bill which was enacted into a law :

(House Bill No. 630.)

AN ACT

To Secure Prompt Payment of Wages of Certain Employes
Twice in Each Month.

Section 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That where the majority of the employes who receive their pay at one office of any person, firm, company or corporation which is engaged in mining, manufacturing or mechanical business, shall make demand in writing to be paid their wages twice in each month thereafter, and their contracts with their employers are silent with reference to such time of payment, then in such case said person, firm, company or corporation shall pay such wages as shall be earned up to the sixteenth day of each month, not later than the twenty-fifth day of said month, and the wages earned up to the end of the month not later than the tenth day of the following month, in lawful money: Provided, That such payment may be made by check, draft or order, payable in lawful money, at sight or on demand, on a bank located at a distance not greater than eight miles from the place where said labor is performed: And provided, further, That said employer may retain at each payment any amount said employe may order withheld from his wages for rent, powder, tools, tool sharpening or oil, and rent, powder or oil due said employer.

Sec. 2. In case any person, firm, company or corporation mentioned in the first section of this act neglects or refuses to pay such wages at the time prescribed, when demanded, and when the contract is silent as to time of payment, said employe shall have the right to recover of said employer the amount due, with a penalty of 10 per cent, together with interest upon (the) whole amount due, including penalty, until the same is paid.

Sec. 3. This act shall take effect on the first day of August, 1887.

JOHN C. ENTREKIN,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

S. A. CONRAD,

President of the Senate.

Passed March 21, 1887.

United States of America, Ohio,

Office of the Secretary of State.

I, James S. Robinson, secretary of state of the State of Ohio, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of an Act passed by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio on

the 21st day of March, A. D. 1887, taken from the original rolls filed in this office.

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed my official seal, at Columbus, the 28th day of March, 1887.

J. S. ROBINSON, Secretary of State.

It will be observed that the law passed March 21, 1887, "to pay employes twice in each month in Ohio" was to take effect the first day of August, 1887. On July 20, 1887, several of the Hocking valley operators posted notices saying:

"That they would be unable to pay semi-monthly, owing to business arrangements, and notified the miners that all who continued work after August 1 did so with the understanding that their wages were to be paid monthly, as heretofore."

These notices caused quite a commotion among the miners, and the main question with them now was, "What shall we do next?" An appeal was made by the officers of the Knights of Labor advising the miners to keep on at work until the matter could be tested in the courts. In spite of this advice, however, the miners in general favored entering into a contest themselves, which, properly speaking, meant strike for the enforcement of the law from the date named it should go into effect.

While the agitation was going on in various parts of the State the question assumed a rather serious aspect at times, but the Hocking valley miners determined to make the stand for the compliance of law.

On July 30, 1887, President John H. Taylor of the Hocking valley district, received the two following telegrams:

Received at 10:46 a. m. Jobs, Ohio, July 30, 1887.
J. H. Taylor, New Straitsville, Ohio:

Miners have meeting today, noon, at our mine. I will make them a proposition and would like you present.

WILLIAM JOB.

Received at 6 K. Columbus, Ohio, July 30, 1887.
John H. Taylor, New Straitsville, Ohio:

You notify miners to resume until the board considers matters.

JOHN MCBRIDE.

On the same date another telegram was received as follows:

Coalton, Ohio, July 30, 1887.

Chris Evans, New Straitsville, Ohio:

Jackson county operators have notified miners same as Hocking; advise. W. J. MILLHUFF.

The telegram from Mr. Job, superintendent of the Babcock Morris mines, provided that they would pay every two weeks until the matter could be settled by a joint board of arbitration. This was thought fair by the miners of the Hocking valley, who in turn made a similar proposition to the other operators, on condition that the notices posted July 20 be taken down. This the operators refused to do, and the miners ceased work.

On August 1 State President John McBride sent the following telegram:

Received at 7:30 a. m. Massillon, Ohio, August 1, 1887.

John H. Taylor, New Straitsville, Ohio:

I can not find Brashears to call board together. Think men better resume till we get decision from the board or a State convention. JOHN MCBRIDE.

To the telegram of August 1 from McBride, District President J. H. Taylor replied the same day as follows:

Will men resume work while operators refuse to withdraw contracts?

The third telegram from McBride follows:

Received at 3:14 p. m. Massillon, Ohio, August 2, 1887.

John H. Taylor, New Straitsville, Ohio:

Troubles elsewhere over semi-monthly pay must be adjusted by either State board or a convention. I do not think it advisable for your district to act without others.

JOHN MCBRIDE.

The following telegram shows the interest manifested at the time, but work at the Hocking valley mines was adroitly checked until the William Job proposition could be further tested:

Nelsonville, Ohio, August 2, 1887.

John H. Taylor, New Straitsville, Ohio:

Brooks miners work tomorrow. What's to be done about it?

ANDREW BROWN.

The Brown telegram was followed next day by another from President McBride as follows:

Massillon, Ohio, August 3, 1887.

J. H. Taylor, New Straitsville, Ohio:

Troubles over the semi-monthly pay in other parts of the State must be adjusted by the board or a State convention.

JOHN MCBRIDE.

State President McBride not being fully conversant with the true situation in the Hocking valley, it was decided by District President J. H. Taylor and Chris Evans that the latter should wire McBride to meet him at Columbus, Ohio, next day, August 4, for consultation.

The Columbus (Ohio) newspapers were alive to the situation, knowing full well what a strike of the Hocking valley miners meant to their city, with a probability of it being extended throughout the entire State where the law was not being complied with.

The State labor statistician, a friend of the workers, sent for publication a statement as follows:

To the Editor of the *Dispatch*:

An editorial in your issue of today erroneously states that "the great mass of the people who work for wages are paid monthly." This is in the line of investigation I am making for the next annual report of this bureau, and as I have received returns from more than 10,000 industrial establishments the information in this office throws some light on this question. Sixty out of every one hundred establishments pay weekly. Thirty-five out of every one hundred pay every two weeks. Four out of every one hundred pay monthly. One out of one hundred have no regular pay days. Of those paying monthly the largest percentage is found among the coal companies. About half the coal mines pay twice a month. None pay weekly.

Yours truly,

A. D. FASSETT.

Columbus, Ohio, August 3, 1887.

As per understanding, State President McBride and Chris Evans met at Columbus, Ohio, August 4, talked over the Hocking valley situation and decided to make their first call on the officials of the Columbus and Hocking Coal and Iron Company, well known as the Hocking Valley Syndicate, con-

trolling the largest number of mines of any coal company in the district.

Both men were well known by the officials called upon and entered into a very friendly talk over the strike and the cause for which it was brought about. The officials referred to, Messrs. Walter Craft and H. D. Turney, were past masters on strikes and their causes, hence very little advice was necessary on those points. The one most important point, however, was how to bring about the semi-monthly pay that the miners were contending for.

After entering into the discussion of the question, both parties resorting to almost every tactic known to the trade, the officials finally agreed that their company would pay their mine workers semi-monthly. This accomplished, the representatives of the miners felt that their mission was almost sure of success.

The next question was the advisability of using this entering wedge in the best manner possible so that its effect would lead on to greater success. With this thought in mind the representatives of the miners decided to call at the office of the Ohio Coal Exchange, located in the same city.

The Ohio Coal Exchange was the next largest coal company interested, and McBride and Evans not being strangers to its officials, the president, L. R. Doty, received them cordially and the strike situation, together with its cause, was very freely discussed. In the consideration of the question the ability of its members to meet the requirements of paying semi-monthly was said to be good, with one exception. After further arguments on the general situation the exception was granted, and the Ohio Coal Exchange agreed to fall in line with the Columbus and Hocking Coal and Iron Company in meeting the demands of the miners for semi-monthly pays.

After these agreements had been made the miners of the Hocking valley were advised by telegram to resume work. This ended the miners' strike for the enforcement of the semi-monthly pay law for the State of Ohio.

The city newspaper commented on the settlement of the question as follows:

(Ohio State Journal, August 6, 1887.)

THE COAL EXCHANGE ALSO AGREES TO SEMI-MONTHLY PAYMENTS

The announcement in yesterday's *State Journal* of the settlement of the difficulties between the syndicate and the miners in its employ regarding semi-monthly payments created considerable surprise, and many claimed that it could not be true. Several parties insisted that the operators had made an agreement not to yield, and they of course knew that the reported settlement was not so. However, developments during the day proved the matter, and Messrs. McBride and Evans secured the same agreements from other operators, President L. R. Doty signing on behalf of the Ohio Coal Exchange, each of the following companies agreeing to take down the notice of monthly payments and pay bi-weekly: W. B. Brooks & Son, Consolidated Coal and Mining Company, C. L. Poston & Co., Union Coal Company, Juniper Brothers & Lampman, Nelsonville Coal and Coke Company, Metcalf & Brewer, Ohio Coal Company, New Pittsburg Coal Company and Johnson Brothers & Patterson.

As the Babcock-Morris Company and Sunday Creek Company had already agreed to the same, this settled the matter with all of the larger operators except W. P. Rend & Co. There is some misunderstanding as to the terms of settlement. The miners' representatives say that they agreed to protect the operators by securing all of the smaller concerns to pay the same way. This they believe they can do.

The Columbus (Ohio) *Sunday News* of August 7, 1887, in speaking of the miners' efforts to secure semi-monthly pay, compliments Messrs. McBride and Evans as follows:

If John McBride and Christopher Evans, president and secretary, respectively, of the federation of miners, are not heroes with the men who dig the coal they ought to be. They champion, boldly, the cause of the miners and generally succeed, though it may be after long argument, in getting what they want from the operators. Thus, when they came to this city the past week in the interest of the striking Hocking valley miners, they had to contend with two powerful organizations—the Hocking Valley Syndicate and the Ohio Coal Exchange. Both organizations had posted notices at their mines stating that they could not pay their employes semi-monthly, as provided by law. The miners were striking for semi-monthly pay, and it was for Messrs. McBride and Evans to effect a settlement. This they succeeded in doing, and the miners were ordered back to work on what seemed to be their own terms. At any rate the strike was ended, and if there are any differences they will be settled by the State board of arbitration. This is good. But why is it that the generosity of the operators must be constantly prodded to be kept awake?

CHAPTER XXV.

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD ANNUAL
CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL FEDERATION
OF MINERS AND MINE LABORERS OF THE
UNITED STATES AND TERRITORIES,
HELD AT INDIANAPOLIS, INDI-
ANA, SEPTEMBER 6-8, 1887,
AT MERIDIAN HALL.

Indianapolis, Indiana, September 6, 1887.

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m. by Christopher Evans, executive secretary, who stated briefly the objects of the meeting, after which temporary officers were elected as follows: William Houston of Indiana was elected chairman and P. H. Donnelly assistant secretary.

On taking the chair, President Houston appointed the following delegates as a committee on credentials: T. J. Armstrong, Ebenezer Lewis and Robert Fisher, who reported the following delegates to seats in the convention:

John McBride, John E. Short, W. H. Hannigan, J. H. Taylor, C. C. Cheney, George Harrison, D. A. Thomas, John Solan, John Bogue, Michael Lyons, Alexander Johnson, Chris Evans, Ebenezer Lewis, N. R. Hysell, P. H. Donnelly, T. J. Armstrong, James McNulty, Peter McCall, John Young, Daniel McLaughlin, Thomas Lee, Thomas Whitaker, William Scaife, James Duggan, Robert Payden, Henry Carroll, Patrick McCall, Frank Cox, James P. Duncan, William Purdy, Thomas Getting, Robert M. Reed, Andrew Snedden, David Ross, J. T. Smith, Robert Fisher, Robert Bailey, William Houston, Thomas Russell, William Morgan, John H. Kennedy.

On motion the report was received. After which the chairman appointed a committee on permanent organization, as follows: Alexander Johnson, Robert Reed and Robert Bailey. For permanent officers of the convention the committee recommended John McBride, president; Chris Evans, secretary; P. H. Donnelly and Ebenezer Lewis, assistant secretaries.

The annual report of the executive secretary was then read, received, and referred to the proper committee, and ordered printed with the proceedings of the convention.

Executive Secretary's Report.

"To the Representatives of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, in Convention Assembled:

"Fellow Workmen—According to constitutional provisions we are again called together for the third time to hold our annual meeting:

"In my official capacity as your executive secretary it is necessary that I should give an account of the work done during the past year.

"In submitting my second annual report for your consideration it would be an act of injustice on my part were I to refrain from congratulating you on the remarkable progress that has been made. Many obstacles have been thrown in our way that have doubtless prevented us from securing what rightfully belonged to us as a mining craft; but when we consider the evils that have for so many years surrounded our calling we have reason to feel gratified that a goodly number of them have been removed. Prior to the inauguration of the National Federation two years ago, the mining industry of this country was in a very precarious condition. Strife and contention were rife between the employer and the employed through want of a much needed understanding with each other. Operators were cutting prices in the markets to such an alarming degree as to leave a very small margin for the capital invested, which caused our miners to be in a constant warfare with them, struggling to maintain living wages for labor performed without any prospect of gaining any permanent relief. Such was our condition at that time, and while we have not reached the limit of our expectations, we have certainly made sufficient progress to encourage us to move onward and consummate the noble work that we have so earnestly begun.

"On September 10, 1886, after the adjournment of our last annual meeting, your executive board met in the Hotel English, Indianapolis, Indiana, and organized for the work they had been elected to perform.

"Among other things considered at the first meeting of the board was the trouble at Grape Creek. These miners had been idle for several months contending for scale prices jointly agreed upon between miners and operators at Columbus, Ohio, February 24, 1886, to take effect May 1, 1886, and remain in force until May 1, 1887. It had been intimated by one of the operators there that he was willing to arbitrate the question in dispute. The board decided that the executive secretary should go there at once for the purpose of trying to effect a settlement. On reaching Danville, Illinois, accompanied by Brothers Daniel McLaughlin and Thomas J. Armstrong, members of the executive board, and David Ross and George Harrison, delegates to the convention, a short consultation was held with a committee of the miners, after which Mr. Kelley,

the operator referred to, was sent for and an agreement entered into to arbitrate, the miners under his employ to resume work pending the decision. The arbitration board met, but failed to reach any satisfactory conclusion themselves, and the umpire selected by them refused to render a decision on the question, after which the miners were again called out until some reasonable terms could be agreed upon, but up to the present time no satisfactory conclusions have been arrived at, and about fifty-seven miners are still idle in consequence of their operators refusing to pay scale prices. Before leaving this question we would suggest that inasmuch as these miners have made such a noble effort to maintain scale prices, and an opportunity has at last presented itself whereby, with a little aid, they can engage in mining for themselves, that this convention render all the assistance it can to help them out of their present difficulty.

"At the last annual meeting the following resolution was adopted:

" 'Resolved, That we are opposed to merging into the Knights of Labor, and recognize no organization as being capable to deal with the interests of the miners and mine laborers of the United States and Territories but the Miners' and Mine Laborers' National Federation, and to it we will ever cling, and ask that our executive board issue a manifesto defining properly to the miners and mine laborers, and the wage workers of the world, our proper stand on the subject of labor, and while wanting peace do not desire it at the price of liberty to the members of our craft.'

"In compliance to this resolution the following circular was issued by your executive board:

" 'To the Miners and Mine Laborers and All Wage Workers of the United States and Territories:

" 'Fellow Workingmen—At the second annual convention of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers it was

" 'Resolved, That the national federation unanimously opposes the merging of our national trades union into the Knights of Labor, and the executive board was authorized to issue a manifesto defining our position on the subject. As miners and mine laborers, whose difficult and hazardous calling can only be understood by those that have had a practical experience in our mines, we believe it necessary to organize the members of our trade into a national federation of practical miners and mine laborers. The peculiarities of our trade are such that when grievances arise between operators and miners, to deal with those questions intelligently, practical

experience is necessary, and none are better qualified to discuss them than those that have learned the true nature of the difficulties that so frequently arise in the coal mines of our country. After years of experience we are also convinced that there are thousands of our miners and mine laborers that will not connect themselves with secret organizations, as the history of the past proves beyond the question of doubt, for these reasons it became evident to us that there was a necessity for an organization that would open its doors for all alike, and thereby promote the interest of all our miners and mine laborers, whether favorable to open or secret organization. On the 12th day of September, 1885, the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers was organized as an open trades union for the better protection of the members of our craft. Since it has been established, it has met with remarkable success. The good effects it has already produced has far surpassed the expectations of its most sanguine friends. Through its influence, the operators and miners have been brought closer together. The bitter animosities of the past, that have caused so many strikes and lock-outs, and brought so much misery and distress into the homes of our miners, have been allayed. Confidence has been restored, and a joint understanding arrived at, between the operators and miners, that is acknowledged by all as being the grandest effort that was ever made by the miners of this country toward establishing peace and harmony between the employer and the employed, and at the same time secure better results to every member of our craft. To our utmost surprise, however, just as our national federation had began to show its influence, a rival steps in between us, emanating from the noble order of the Knights of Labor, who form a similar organization, known as the Miners' and Mine Laborers' National District Assembly, following our footsteps in almost every particular, and as a fire-brand thrown in among us is only calculated to create discord and disunite the miners and mine laborers of this country, and bring ruinous and disastrous effects upon the members of our trade. On behalf of those we represent, we say, beware of the designing ones that are circulating rumors through the Associated Press that our trades union is being turned over to the Knights of Labor. It is false, and only calculated to deceive you and work destruction to our national federation. While anxious, as our constitution says, to assist all similar organizations which have the same object in view, to-wit: Mutual protection, and the protection of labor against the encroachments of capital; yet, we will not tolerate or assist in building up any organization that seeks to destroy our trades unions, and in unmistakable language inform one

and all that the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers intend to transact their own business as a trades union, and free themselves from the manipulations of selfish individuals that are bent upon the destruction of our national trades union.

“ ‘Yours truly,
“ ‘CHRIS EVANS,
“ ‘N. R. HYSELL,
“ ‘THOS. J. ARMSTRONG,
“ ‘DANIEL MCLAUGHLIN,
“ ‘PATRICK MCADAMS,
“ ‘JOHN T. JOHNSON,

“ ‘October 14, 1886.

Members Executive Board.

“The second meeting of the board was held at the Briggs House, Chicago, Illinois, April 2, 1887, and the following resolution was agreed upon:

“ ‘Whereas, At a conference held at Columbus, Ohio, February 28, 1887, between J. D. Conway, master workman, and W. T. Lewis, secretary of sub-district No. 6, of District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, and concurred in by W. H. Bailey, master workman of National District Assembly No. 135, on the part of the Knights of Labor, and John McBride, president of the Ohio Miners’ Amalgamated Association, and N. R. Hysell, vice-president of the Ohio Miners’ Amalgamated Association and member of the executive board of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, it was suggested that there be a meeting held between the two national executive boards of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, and National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, for the purpose of formulating some plan to be submitted to the miners and mine laborers of the United States and Territories whereby we can harmonize the interests of all concerned; and

“ ‘Whereas, We believe that it is our duty as representatives of the miners to work for the general welfare of every member of our craft; therefore, be it

“ ‘Resolved, That we are ready to meet with the executive board of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, to devise ways and means to further the objects named, at any time and place they may designate, and the executive secretary of the national federation is hereby authorized to notify the secretary of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, of our willingness to meet their board as before stated.

“ ‘Respectfully yours,

“ ‘CHRIS EVANS, Executive Secretary.

“N. B.—Please address your reply to Chris Evans, Executive Secretary, New Straitsville, Ohio.’

“On the 28th day of April the following letter was received from the secretary of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, in reply:

“‘New Straitsville, Ohio, April 28, 1887.

“‘Chris Evans, Esq., Executive Secretary National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, New Straitsville, Ohio.:

“‘Dear Sir—Your favor of the 4th inst. to hand, and by direction of the national executive board of National District Assembly No. 135, I am authorized to reply to your invitation as follows: The executive board of National District Assembly No. 135 will meet the national executive board of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio, at the Dennison Hotel, Main and Fifth streets, June 3, 1887, at 10 o'clock a. m.

“‘Very respectfully yours,

“‘LEWIS JAMES, N. S. T.’

“The third meeting of the executive board was held at the Farmers Hotel, Columbus, Ohio, May 5, 1887, and the reply from District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, was considered.

“It will, no doubt, be remembered by many of the delegates present that a joint understanding had been arrived at between operators and miners, that an advance of five (5) cents per ton was to take effect on May 1, 1887; provided all those places working below scale rates were brought up to their proper prices as provided in the scale. How to accomplish this was one of the most difficult problems that your executive board had to solve, and they were willing to make any reasonable sacrifice on their part that would help to bring about the much desired result. For these reasons, the idea of concentrating our entire forces was thought to be one of the most important things necessary, and to help us in the movement, we made the proposition to meet the board of District Assembly No. 135 on the 4th day of April, believing that if they would agree to meet us some time prior to our meeting with the operators, that we could come to some conclusions that would at least convince our operators that we were a unit on the question of an advance, and that this action alone would have gone further at that time towards securing the advance than anything else, no one will question. You can readily imagine our surprise when we were informed by the secretary of District Assembly No. 135, that they would not meet us until the 3d day of June, two months from the time they had

been notified to meet us, and over one month after the five (5) cents advance was to take effect. This action, together with convincing proofs that no efforts were being made to secure an advance in prices for the members of National District Assembly No. 135, that were still working below scale prices, convinced your executive board that there was no desire on their part to render any assistance either to advance prices or in any other way, and the following was then agreed upon by the members of your executive board:

“Whereas, The board having been led to understand that it was the desire of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, to bring about harmonious relations between their organization and the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, and also believing that the executive board of National District Assembly No. 135 was fully empowered to act on behalf of their organization, the members of this board, at a meeting held at Chicago, Illinois, April 2, 1887, to consider the question, notified the executive board of District Assembly No. 135 that we would meet at any time and place they might name; and

“Whereas, In reply by letters from the master workman and recording secretary of District Assembly No. 135, we are given to understand that their executive board has no power to enter into an agreement in the absence of a general meeting of their Assembly.

“Resolved, That while we desire harmony, we feel that the officers of District Assembly No. 135 have not acted as honestly as they should have done in meeting our proposition, and because of this we believe that further intercourse between the two boards would result in no good, we have therefore concluded not to meet District Assembly No. 135, at their convention in Cincinnati, but if members of District Assembly No. 135 will declare by resolution at their annual convention that they desire a consolidation of our respective forces, and will indicate the basis of such consolidation, we pledge ourselves to give a careful consideration to what they submit.’

“The fourth and last meeting of the board was held at the Hotel English, Indianapolis, Indiana, June 21 and 22, 1887.

“The principal object of this meeting was to meet the operators, and consider what was the best course to pursue in order to maintain the advance of five (5) cents per ton that had been granted for the month of May to Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania, and was to be continued until November 1, provided all places working below scale prices had been brought up to their proper standard. The meeting with the operators was held at the Bates House, June 21, and owing to the pro-

visions agreed upon not being complied with in central and southern Illinois, the prospects for securing the five (5) cents advance looked very gloomy. After a lengthy discussion upon the subject, however, the operators of Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania agreed to pay the five (5) cents advance until November 1, 1887, and should those working below scale rates be advanced to scale prices by that time, they would grant another advance of five (5) cents per ton from November 1, 1887, until May 1, 1888. This concession on the part of the operators was highly appreciated by your executive board, and demonstrates clearly the practical success of the methods adopted by the national federation, as through the influence of the federation alone the miners of the States above referred to have been granted five (5) cents advance from November 1, 1887, until May 1, 1888, provided those places that are working below scale rates are advanced to scale prices by November 1.

"At this meeting of the executive board a few suggestions were offered for your consideration, among which was the election of a national president, the advisability of combining the offices of secretary and treasurer, and the practicability of increasing the national per capita tax. These propositions have no doubt been well considered by the constituents we represent, and at the proper time will be carefully discussed by the representatives present. We wish to draw your attention to a few facts, however, that have forced themselves upon our notice as being worthy of your earnest consideration.

"Two years of experience has demonstrated very clearly to our minds the necessity of adopting some means whereby we can better meet the requirements of our national federation. There are several States that are not organized, but there are miners in those States that are sufficiently interested to inform us that they have a desire to be organized. To meet these cases funds are necessary, and should be at the command of your officials, in order that they may improve the opportunity and increase our membership. It was for this and similar reasons that we recommended in our last annual report the advisability of creating a national fund, and we again advise that some system be adopted by this convention that will place sufficient funds in the treasury to meet these emergencies.

"The question of machine mining has become a very important factor in our mines, and requires the serious attention of the members of our craft. The introduction of machines into our mines has greatly increased during the last two years, and as a result many of our miners have been thrown out of employment. The prices paid in many places where machines have been introduced have seriously affected the prices on pick mining, and to place ourselves in a position to meet these

changes that are daily growing upon us, no time should be lost in collecting such information as will enable us to deal intelligently upon these questions when presented.

"At the last annual convention a resolution was adopted favoring our connection with the national and international trades unions. On December 9, 1886, the American Federation of Labor was organized at Columbus, Ohio. Our national federation was represented, and we are now a part of that vast body of organized trades unions, numbering 597,000 members. As reported by the president, Samuel Gompers, in last week's issue of the *Labor Tribune*, the membership has increased 37,000 since June 15 of the present year. The per capita tax required to maintain our membership is one-half cent per member per month, and we would advise that all members belonging to the national federation be requested to pay the per capita tax due the American Federation of Labor through their representative State officials to the national treasurer, in the same manner as the national federation tax is now paid, and where no State organization exists, the per capita tax to be paid through the local or district officers.

"With these few suggestions before you, we trust that they will stimulate sufficient action on the part of every delegate present to move onward. We have an organization that is practicing the true principles of reform. Its teachings have improved the condition of both the employer and the employed. The history of its movements ever since it was inaugurated has been laid open to the public gaze, and its practical results have been made manifest to all.

"Respectfully submitted,

"CHRIS EVANS, Executive Secretary.

The chairman then appointed the following committees:

On Resolutions—Daniel McLaughlin, George Harrison, James Duggan, John E. Short and Robert Bailey.

On Order of Business—Robert Fisher, James McNulty, Alexander Johnson, Michael Lyons and Thomas Getting.

On Ways and Means—John Young, John Sloan, Thomas Whitaker, J. T. Smith and J. H. Taylor.

Auditing Committee—D. A. Thomas, Thomas Russell, Patrick McCall, W. H. Harrigan and John H. Kennedy.

On motion, the convention adjourned until 9 o'clock a. m. Wednesday.

SECOND DAY.

Wednesday Morning Session—September 7, 1887.

Convention called to order, President McBride in the chair.

The committee on order of business made their report, and recommended the same rules and usages adopted at the second annual meeting, which read as follows:

"1. Roll of delegates.

"2. Reports of delegates as to the condition and desires of their constituency.

"3. Report of auditing committee.

"4. Report of committee on resolutions.

"5. Report of committee on ways and means.

"6. Miscellaneous business.

"7. Election of officers.

"Rule 1. That no delegate shall speak more than five (5) minutes on any one subject, nor more than once until all have had an opportunity to be heard.

"Rule 2. That this convention shall be governed according to parliamentary rules.

"ROBERT FISHER,
"JAMES McNULTY,
"ALEXANDER JOHNSON,
"MICHAEL LYONS,
"THOMAS GETTING,
Committee."

On motion, the report was adopted.

Roll of delegates called.

The delegates were then called upon to give the desires of their constituents on the business that was to be considered by the convention, and the call was very generally responded to by the delegates present. Under this head communications were read by the secretary that had been received from John Britt of western Pennsylvania, James C. Heenen of southern Illinois, and John McCarron, Thomas E. Gorman and Joseph McKernon of the State of Missouri; all of which regretted their inability to be present, but congratulated the convention on the rapid progress that had been made since the national federation had been inaugurated, and urged the continuation of the practical methods that had been adopted.

The report of the treasurer, being called for, was read, and showed receipts during the year—

From all sources-----	\$3,603.34
Balance in treasury September 9, 1886-----	601.60
Total receipts with balance on hand-----	\$4,204.94
Disbursements for the year-----	3,522.16
Balance in treasury September 8, 1887-----	682.78

The following resolutions were reported by the committee, and adopted:

"Whereas, The mine operators of Grape Creek, Illinois, having taken an active part in the joint convention of operators and miners held in February, 1886, in Columbus, Ohio, in the arrangement of a scale of prices for one year, and said operators having refused to pay the scale prices agreed upon by their fellow-operators and miners, and also refused to arbitrate the question by locking their miners out since May 1, 1886, and having resorted to every contemptible method to reduce their wages and break scale prices in Illinois and other States; and,

"Whereas, The miners of Grape Creek having been forced into a conflict which has now lasted for over sixteen months, and in which themselves and their families have made great and noble personal sacrifices, and whose conduct during the whole period has spoken volumes in behalf of the peaceful disposition, the heroism and determination of our craftsmen to treat the operators with equity and fairness and maintain living wages and privileges becoming a free and liberty-loving people; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That this convention place on record its feeling of detestation at the treachery of the Grape Creek operators, and its highest sense of admiration and approval of the conduct of the miners, and strictly pledges itself to use every legitimate means at its disposal to defeat the ungentlemanly and unholy object of the operators and crown with success the noble and immutable efforts of the men; and be it also

"Resolved, That we appeal to every honest miner, whether he belong to any organization or not, or whatever organization he may belong to, to keep away from Grape Creek until the trouble is finally settled, as we look upon every man who aids the Grape Creek operators in their diabolical work as a black-leg of the deepest dye."

"Whereas, In order to prevent the employment of children of tender years in the mines, and to protect the life and health of miners, be it

"Resolved, That the officers of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, and all its branches, urge the strict enforcement of the mining laws in every State and Territory where mining laws exist, and urge the passage of necessary laws where none exist and mining is in operation."

"Whereas, Believing that poverty, ignorance and crime is largely due to long hours of labor, and long intervals between the payment of wages, together with the truck system and company stores,

“Resolved, That this convention use its untiring efforts to reduce the hours of labor in and around the mines to eight hours per day, with a half-holiday on Saturday; and

“Resolved, That representatives of States where semi-monthly pay laws have been enacted, use their utmost endeavors to enforce the provisions of the laws.

“Resolved, That we appeal to our fellow-craftsmen in States where such laws do not exist to refuse to support any candidate for the legislature who will not pledge his support to enact such measures.”

Convention adjourned until 1:30 p. m.

Wednesday Afternoon Session—September 7, 1887.

Convention called to order; President John McBride in the chair.

It was moved that there be no change in the national offices, and was agreed to.

Moved that the national monthly per capita tax be increased. Motion lost.

In order to allow the various committees time to consider and report on the questions before them, the convention adjourned until 8 a. m. Thursday.

THIRD DAY.

Thursday Morning Session—September 8, 1887.

Convention called to order; President John McBride in the chair.

Assistant Secretary Brother P. H. Donnelly having been called home through sickness in his family, Brother David Ross was elected to fill the vacancy.

The auditing committee reported as follows:

“Your committee appointed to audit the books of the secretary and treasurer, after making a thorough examination of the same, find them correct, as reported by the secretary and treasurer.

“D. A. THOMAS,
“PATRICK MCCALL,
“T. J. RUSSELL,
“JOHN H. KENNEDY,
“W. H. HANNAGON,
“Committee.”

Moved, that the report be received and printed in the proceedings. Motion agreed to.

"Whereas, The Fuller and Warren Stove Company of Troy, New York, have blacklisted their workmen for nearly three years for gallantly refusing to give up their organization, and allow said company to impose upon them an extortionate reduction in their wages; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That all members of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers be advised to comply with the request of the Workingmen's Assembly, State of New York, and let severely alone the stoves, heaters and ranges made by the Fuller and Warren Company, of Troy, New York, until they withdraw their ungentlemanly action in blacklisting their workmen."

Motion agreed to.

"Whereas, By communications received from western Pennsylvania and the anthracite region, southern Illinois and the State of Missouri, this convention has been requested to render what assistance we can to increase our membership in those places, and the communications received guarantee to us that a warm feeling for the advancement of the national federation exists in the places named; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we recognize the necessity of complying with their wishes, and in order that we may show our appreciation of the requests made we authorize our executive board to make the preparations necessary to more thoroughly organize the miners and mine laborers in the States referred to, and all other States where the national federation has not yet been established."

Resolution adopted.

"Resolved, That this convention re-endorse the resolution adopted at the last annual convention in relation to the weighing of coal before screening, and urge that it be more vigorously advocated by the officers of the various branches of the federation."

Agreed to.

"Whereas, Many members of our organization are misinformed of our financial condition, therefore be it

"Resolved, That it be made the duty of the national treasurer to prepare and have published in circular form, for distribution to the various locals of the federation, a semi-annual financial statement, showing the amount of funds received from each State, and the amount disbursed."

Resolution adopted.

"Resolved, That this convention instruct the executive board to try and arrange the commencement of the scale year for November instead of May."

Adopted.

"Resolved, That we re-affirm our allegiance to the *National Labor Tribune*, as our official organ, and urge all members to give it their hearty support."

Adopted.

"Whereas, The miners of the United States are now maintaining two organizations, known as the "National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers" and "National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor;" each of which has declared for its objects the preservation and perpetuation of the interests of our craft. Owing, however, to all questions of interest being considered by the two organizations, in separate councils, different methods have been adopted to secure the desired ends, and the officials of the two organizations, while pursuing the course mapped out for them, come into contact with each other, and as each sought to promote the interest of the organization to which they owed allegiance, a conflict of authority ensued, and in some cases a bitter struggle for supremacy followed, the result of which, instead of promoting the miners' interests, which had been rapidly advancing, retarded progress by bringing division into our ranks; and

* "Whereas, The national federation has demonstrated its ability to protect its members as well as any other existing organization. Yet, while this is true, we, as representatives of the federation in convention assembled, fully believe that harmonious and united efforts, on part of all organized miners, are required to insure an amelioration of our common condition in life; but, while so believing, and earnestly desiring unity and harmony, we recognize the futility of ever securing either with two organizations and two sets of officers. So long as those are continued, just that long will there be discord and division, and the greatest opportunity of our lives, to better our surroundings and circumstances, will be allowed to pass away, and in its wake will come disappointment and regret at our having failed to do the right thing at the right time; and

"Whereas, We believe that the policy of the national federation, which has already resulted in accomplishing so much good to its members, was, and still is, a conservative but a wise policy to pursue in the regulating and adjusting of mining matters, and if continued with greater unanimity on our part, would soon guarantee full and complete protection to the interests of miners individually and collectively. Yet we recognize that neither this nor any other policy can be continued

Note—*The whereases and resolution adopted were sent out in circular form, September 8, 1887, signed by officers of the convention: John McBride, president; Chris Evans, secretary; Ebenezer Lewis and David Ross, assistant secretaries.

in a general way so long as we divide our forces, hence the one thing desired now is unity; and,

"Whereas, The laws of the national federation, like the organic laws of all labor unions, is based upon the principle that 'the majority shall rule' in all things, and inasmuch as an organization is but the instrument by and through which its members seek to redress their wrongs, protect their rights, and promote their interests, it is generally what the members make it, regardless of whether its character be open or secret; and being desirous of having an organization such as will meet with the approval of the majority of the miners of the United States and Territories, secure the recognition of the minority, and at the same time prove to be a proper instrument of reform and protection to our craft, we are willing to waive all claims that we may have, as an organization, upon the miners for support, and have a national convention of miners and mine laborers called, regardless of any existing organization, and leave to the judgment of such a convention the character and name of such an organization as they deem to be best suited to meet their wants and requirements; pledging ourselves to maintain and aid the organization of their choice, be it open or secret in its character; therefore,

"Resolved, That we extend an invitation to the officials of National District Assembly 135, Knights of Labor, to unite with our officers in issuing a call for a national convention of miners and mine laborers, regardless of existing organizations, and urge upon them the necessity of protecting our interests as a craft rather than seeking to perpetuate an organization or organizations of miners upon the merits of which our miners are now divided. The convention to be held not later than January, 1888: 'Let the majority rule.'"

Adjourned until 1:30 p. m.

Afternoon Session, Thursday, September 8, 1887.

Convention called to order, President McBride in the chair.

Moved, that the president and secretary be instructed to publish the preamble and resolution on joint national convention to be held in January, 1888, in circular form. Which was agreed to.

The following resolutions were recommended by the committee on ways and means, and were adopted.

"Resolved, That we take up the question of the necessity of a defense fund, and try to devise some means by which members on strike, or locked out, in trying to maintain scale rates and general practices, may be provided for.

"Resolved, That our executive secretary be authorized to issue, in the name of this convention, a circular calling for an assessment of ten (10) cents per member on all the federated miners and mine laborers of the United States and Territories, for the benefit of the federation, to be used in central and southern Illinois, and all other places where scale rates have not been secured.

"Whereas, It is the object of this federated movement to establish a system of mining rates, placing all competitors upon a basis of equality throughout the different market districts, and recognizing as we do the essential dependence of one upon another, therefore be it

"Resolved, That those who are now idle, or who may be hereafter required to suspend work in order to obtain scale prices, be supported by every member of this association contributing an equal share, when such aid is called for by the different State and district officers.

"Resolved, That we are in favor of creating a defense fund, and that the question be referred to the executive Board, they to formulate a plan for the creation of such fund, which plan shall be sent to the miners and mine laborers of the national federation, for their approval or rejection."

Adopted.

"Whereas, As mine laborers are a part of this federated body, and inasmuch as the different wages paid men for performing the same kind of day labor varies so much that great trouble ensues at the settlement of all wage disputes, and at the same time unduly discriminates against those operators who pay higher wages than others, we feel that, in justice to all concerned, the wages of all day laborers that perform similar work ought to be made uniform; therefore be it

"Resolved, That at the next inter-state joint convention of miners and mine operators the question of day wages be considered, and a scale of rates made that will do justice to both laborers and their employers."

Adopted.

"Resolved, That this convention can not entertain the question of machine mining, presented by William Morgan of Fontanet, Indiana, as the question should be first considered by their State association, and should it fail to arrive at a satisfactory settlement the matter can then be referred to the interstate joint board of arbitration and conciliation."

Adopted.

Christopher Evans was nominated for executive secretary and Daniel McLaughlin was nominated for treasurer, both of whom were elected by acclamation. Nominations for mem-

bers of the national executive board resulted in the election of John McBride of Ohio and Robert Fisher of Indiana, George Harris of western Pennsylvania and John T. Johnson of the anthracite region.

Moved that the executive board be authorized to enter into an agreement with the tobacco firm represented by Mr. William Reese. Agreed to.

A voluntary subscription was taken up for the lamented John Siney, president of the National Association of Miners, towards the erection of a monument, and President McBride was ordered to forward the same to the *National Labor Tribune*.

A vote of thanks was tendered to the president for the impartial manner in which he had conducted the business of the convention, to the secretaries and other officials for duties performed during the year, and to the press of Indianapolis for the favorable reports made our meeting.

After which the third annual convention adjourned *sine die*.

JOHN MCBRIDE, President.

CHRIS EVANS, Secretary.

DAVID ROSS,

EBENEZER LEWIS, Asst. Secretaries.

NOTE—Article 6 of the constitution was amended to read as follows: "At the annual convention of the association there shall be elected, by the delegates present, one executive secretary, one treasurer, and five members-at-large of the general executive board—two of whom shall be the executive secretary and treasurer—and one from the anthracite region of Pennsylvania. Each delegate shall cast one vote for each member he represents in good standing, and the candidates receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected, and shall enter upon the duties of their respective offices at once."

CHAPTER XXVI.

ARTICLE OF AGREEMENT.

New Comerstown, Ohio, September 21, 1887.

We, the undersigned, Fred Reis, representative of the Excelsior Company, now operating a mine known as the Lockerd mine, situated near New Comerstown, Tuscarawas county, Ohio, and George Harrison, representative of the Ohio Miners' Amalgamated Association, do hereby agree and decide that the price paid by the operators and accepted by the associated miners for mining coal, run over a one and one-quarter-inch screen, at said Lockerd mine shall be eighty (80) cents per ton of 2,000 pounds, said price to advance or decline at the same rates per ton as any general change in mining rates in Ohio.

This agreement to take effect from September 1, 1887, but if objected to by either party on or before the 30th inst., the question to be arbitrated by members of the State board of arbitration, and decision to date back to September 1, 1887.

On Behalf of Operators, FRED REIS.

On Behalf of Miners, GEORGE HARRISON.

At the annual convention of the Miners' and Laborers' Amalgamated Association of Pennsylvania, held September 1, 1887, George Harris was re-elected president; Martin Purcell, vice-president, and Richard Davis, secretary.

The State board members were John Britt, William Mullen and Joseph Walsh for the bituminous field, and John H. Davis, Daniel Duffy, J. N. Trevethan and Martin Purcell for the anthracite region.

In the official organ for the Ohio miners' organization the following statement was made September 10, 1887:

There have been numerous inquiries concerning the publication of the joint discussion between W. T. Lewis and President McBride. The discussion covers 125 sheets of legal cap paper, closely written with a typewriter. Our treasury will not permit it being done, but if District Assembly No. 135 will pay half the expenses it can be done. Mr. Lewis agreed to pay one-half of the stenographer's bill, but the latter tells us he can not get any answer from the office of District Assembly No. 135, and has sent the whole bill to us. We too have written Mr. Lewis regarding the matter, but as yet have failed to

receive an answer. There may be reasons for this, but if there are we would like to hear what they are.

On September 26, 1887, an order for \$22.50 was sent to the *National Labor Tribune* by John McBride, amount raised by voluntary subscription at the convention of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, held at Indianapolis, Indiana, September 6-8, 1887.

At their meeting in September the executive board of the national federation decided to engage as organizers Alexander Johnson of Ohio and P. H. Penna of Indiana to go to central and southern Illinois for the purpose of urging upon the miners there that were working below scale rates the necessity of securing an advance in the mining rates so that all would get the advance of 5 cents per ton promised after November 1, 1887, including Ohio, Indiana, western Pennsylvania and Illinois, as per joint agreement between operators and miners at their June conference.

The work of Organizers Penna and Johnson in the central and southern field of Illinois had a good effect.

The State officials of the Illinois miners' organization were intensely interested in securing better mining rates in the central and southern portion of their State, because of the effect it would have on the northern Illinois miners, as well as those miners in other States that were involved.

They were untiring in their efforts to bring about higher prices and better conditions, substantiated by the following movement inaugurated by them:

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MINERS' CONVENTION, HELD AT EAST ST. LOUIS, OCTOBER 15, 1887.

At a meeting of the representatives of the southern Illinois mining district, held at Flanigan's Hall, East St. Louis, on Saturday, October 15, 1887, the following business was transacted:

Meeting was called to order by James Boston, Jr., vice-president of the State organization, and upon his recommendation a chairman and secretary pro tem were elected.

The meeting was addressed by the State president. Reports were made then by the delegates as to the condition and the wishes of their constituency.

All expressed a feeling of determination amongst the miners and mine laborers of southern Illinois to have the "scale rates" and better conditions of employment, after which a committee of five was appointed on resolutions.

The convention adjourned until 2 o'clock p. m.

Afternoon Session.

The convention assembled according to adjournment and adopted the following resolutions:

"Whereas, It being considered necessary, in order to carry out the objects of this meeting, that there be a united effort made; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we elect a president, secretary-treasurer and three of an executive board; be it further

"Resolved, That all officers elected at this meeting shall co-operate with the men in the field in carrying out the objects of this meeting.

"Resolved, That in order to enable the district officers to make this movement a success, each delegate on his report shall ask a contribution and forward the same to John C. Harder, secretary-treasurer, at West Belleville, forthwith."

After a complete review of the situation of conditions of markets, etc., it was resolved to demand on and after November 1, 1887, the prices due us on May 1 last, as agreed upon at Columbus, Ohio, last February by the operators and miners in joint convention—61½ cents per ton, and all machine men and day laborers shall receive an advance in proportion.

After ordering the report of this convention printed, the convention adjourned to meet at East St. Louis on Saturday, October 29, at 10 o'clock a. m.

JOHN C. HARDER, District Secretary.

The result of the persistent efforts made follow: On November 14, 1887, a joint meeting was held of the national board of arbitration and conciliation at the Neil House, Columbus, Ohio, for the purpose of considering what should be done on the question of an advance of 5 cents per ton on mining rates from November 1. The operators present at this meeting were: Oscar Townsend and H. L. Chapman, from Ohio; J. R. Kendall and W. H. Zimmerman, from Indiana; John Blythe and George W. Schluederberg, from Pennsylvania. There was no operator present from Illinois.

The miners were represented by James Cantwell and John Dudley, from Indiana; Daniel McLaughlin, from Illinois;

John McBride and Chris Evans, from Ohio; John Conway and John Britt, from Pennsylvania.

After the question of an advance had been freely discussed, Chairman Townsend appointed a committee consisting of John McBride and W. H. Zimmerman to draft a resolution on the subject. A recess in the meantime having been taken, at the afternoon session the committee reported as follows:

"Whereas, At a meeting of the interstate board of arbitration and conciliation, held at Indianapolis, Indiana, June 21, 1887, an advance of 5 cents per ton was granted from May 1, 1887, to November 1, 1887, and a resolution was passed by which it was declared the further advance of 5 cents on November 1, 1887, should not be paid unless the mining districts of Illinois were brought up to the Columbus scale; and

"Whereas, the information before this board is that the effort to bring the price of mining in Illinois up to the scale has not proved entirely successful, the agreement to declare the further advance of 5 cents November 1 is not binding; however, the board, in recognition of the progress made in certain parts of Illinois in bringing up the mining price to the scale, and as an encouragement to future efforts in the same direction, and believing that if the further advance of 5 cents is declared in force as of November 1 it would tend to strengthen the organization which we desire to perpetuate: it is, therefore,

"Resolved, That the strict fulfillment of the contract be waived and the advance of 5 cents per ton be paid from and after November 1, 1887, to May 1, 1888."

Moved by H. L. Chapman that the report be adopted, which was agreed to by all members present. The secretary was authorized to issue a circular on the action taken, after which the meeting adjourned.

OSCAR TOWNSEND, President.
CHRIS EVANS, Secretary.

On November 15 the executive board of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers held a meeting and decided on terms upon which they thought an agreement may be reached with the executive board of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, on the following day as agreed to. The result of their joint action follows:

JOINT MEETING OF THE TWO EXECUTIVE BOARDS OF THE NATIONAL DISTRICT ASSEMBLY No. 135 AND NATIONAL FEDERATION OF MINERS AND MINE LABORERS, HELD AT THE FARMERS' HOTEL, 156 SOUTH FOURTH STREET, COLUMBUS, OHIO, NOVEMBER 16 AND 17, 1887.

The meeting was organized by electing William T. Lewis chairman and Chris Evans secretary.

Members present National District Assembly No. 135: William T. Lewis, Lewis James, Robert Linn, D. M. Evans and Thomas McQuade.

National federation: Chris Evans, Daniel McLaughlin, John McBride, John Britt and James Cantwell.

Secretary Evans stated that the object of the meeting was to take into consideration the resolution adopted at the annual convention of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, held at Indianapolis, Indiana, September 6-8, 1887, which reads as follows:

"Resolved, That we extend an invitation to the officials of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, to unite with our officers in issuing a call for a national convention of miners and mine laborers, regardless of existing organizations, and urge upon them the necessity of protecting our interests as a craft, rather than the seeking to perpetuate an organization or organizations of miners upon the merits of which our miners are now divided, the convention to be held not later than January, 1888."

After a lengthy discussion on the question by all members present, Secretary Evans, on the part of the national federation, offered the following:

"Resolved, That a general convention of miners and mine laborers be held at some central point, at an early date, to determine name and method of organization; each delegate present to cast the vote of the majority and minority of his constituents upon such questions as they are instructed upon, and the majority of votes cast in said convention shall determine all questions. The name of each mine represented, and the number of miners and mine laborers working in and around said mine, as represented by the delegate, must be placed in the credentials of each delegate, which must be

signed by the secretary and president of the meetings selecting the delegates to attend said convention."

Moved by John Britt that the resolution be adopted.

A general discussion then ensued, after which, on motion of Mr. Lewis James, the board adjourned until 2 o'clock p. m.

Afternoon Session.

The meeting was called to order by William T. Lewis, chairman, and the discussion on the resolution of Mr. Evans was again continued, after which Mr. McQuade, on the part of National District Assembly No. 135, offered the following substitute for the resolution:

"Whereas, We, the executive board of National District Assembly No. 135 of the Knights of Labor, believing as we do that under our laws—the laws under which we as members of the board were elected—believe we can not join in a call for a national convention of miners and mine laborers to form another organization; and

"Whereas, We are truly desirous of advancing the best interests of our craft; and

"Whereas, It is apparent and admitted that a portion of the mining craft of the United States prefer to have their affairs conducted by a secret organization, and another portion desire their affairs to be conducted by an open organization; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That on matters of general interest to the mining craft of both organizations, National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers and National District Assembly No. 135 act jointly for the best interest of the craft, and on local affairs that organization to assume control that may be in the majority; and, furthermore, we favor the issuing of a circular, by the boards in joint meeting, counseling peace and harmony between both organizations, and that the miners and mine laborers everywhere be asked to join the organization of their choice and cease forever the use of language that could be construed into abuse of either organization."

Moved by D. M. Evans, on the part of National District Assembly No. 135, that the substitute be adopted.

After considerable discussion on the substitute it was moved that the pending resolution and substitute be referred to a committee of two, one from each board, who shall be empowered to draft a resolution on the question and present the same for the consideration of the joint boards.

Committee: William T. Lewis, representing National Dis-

trict Assembly No. 135, and John McBride, the national federation.

Adjourned to meet Thursday at 9 a. m.

Thursday, November 17, 1887.

Meeting called to order with William T. Lewis in the chair.

Reading the minutes of previous meeting dispensed with, and report of committee on preamble and resolutions read as follows:

"To Miners Belonging to Knights of Labor and to the Federation, Greeting:

"After carefully considering the proposition to hold a national convention of miners regardless of existing organizations, as submitted to National District Assembly No. 135 by the last convention of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, it became evident that an agreement could not be arrived at upon the plan outlined in said proposition, but it was also apparent to us that something should be done to promote harmony amongst members of our respective organizations, so that the fruits of organized efforts might be enjoyed by all members of our craft, and with this end in view we unanimously agreed upon the following plan, which we submit to you, asking only that you give it a careful consideration, and then record your approval or disapproval and forward the results to the secretary of the organization to which you belong on or before January 1, 1888:

"1. The system of fixing scale rates by joint conventions of miners and mine operators shall be continued.

"2. Arbitration and conciliation shall be prime factors in adjusting disputes, and only when these have been refused by operators shall strikes be resorted to, and then only as a final resort for recognition and justice to our craft.

"3. When scale rates are refused and operators will not submit to arbitration, a strike will be organized and the strikers supported by means of a per capita assessment upon members of both organizations; when arbitration is jointly entered into the expenses incurred shall be defrayed by the two organizations paying equally.

"4. Local, district and State difficulties shall be under control of the organization having the greatest numerical strength in the locality, district or State wherein the difficulty occurs, and all moneys sent as aid to those on strike shall be paid into the treasury of the organization having the same in charge, and shall be distributed amongst those involved at so much per capita regardless of what organization they are members of.

"5. Organization is necessary to protect and promote the interest of our craft, both organizations will use every honest and fair means at their disposal to have all miners and mine laborers become members of either National District Assembly No. 135 or the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers.

"6. When both organizations exist at any one mine and, by an agreement between miners and operators, dues, levies and assessments are checked off and retained in the office of the company, each organization shall have a committee to whom shall be turned over the funds of their respective organizations to be deposited in their treasuries, but so much of the money so collected as is calculated to pay checkweighmen's wages shall be paid into the mine treasury.

"7. The interstate board shall be composed of two miners (one from each organization) in each State governed by scale provisions. The duties of this board shall be to confer with operators on matters affecting scale rates, and in the event of a failure to adjust differences by arbitration or conciliation the board shall recommend the inauguration of a strike in such localities as have failed to secure scale rates, and also suggest the levying of a per capita assessment upon members of both organizations for the maintenance of said strike.

"8. In the event of it becoming necessary to inaugurate strikes for other purposes not covered by scale provisions, the executive boards of the two organizations shall co-operate and by such methods as they deem best endeavor to have said strikes terminate successfully.

"9. State boards of arbitration and conciliation shall consist of equal numbers from each organization, who shall be governed by such rules as may be agreed upon by them and members of the operators' boards or as a joint convention of miners and mine operators may agree upon.

"10. That the members of both boards shall meet three days previous to the joint meeting of miners and operators to consider the scale prices and other questions looking to the welfare of all miners and mine laborers in the States and Territories, and that all representatives shall meet in convention one day prior to the meeting of operators and miners to adjust scale rates for the ensuing year.

"That the foregoing agreement shall not be considered in force until it be approved by a majority of the members of both organizations, but from this date until the wishes of a majority of the members from both organizations shall be made known through their officers, we, the officers of both organizations, shall use our best efforts to carry out the spirit of the above agreement."

The above was adopted.

Signed on behalf of National District Assembly No. 135:
William T. Lewis, Lewis James, Thomas McQuade, Robert Linn, D. M. Evans:

National Federation: Chris Evans, Daniel McLaughlin, John McBride, John Britt, James Cantwell.

Meeting adjourned.

WILLIAM T. LEWIS, Chairman.
CHRIS EVANS, Secretary.

OHIO MINERS' STATE CONVENTION.

The annual convention of the Ohio Miners' Amalgamated Association was held at Columbus, Ohio, January 17-20, 1888. President John McBride called the convention to order and the credentials committee reported the following delegates entitled to seats in the convention: William H. Turner, Joshua Thomas, Alexander Gibbs, D. C. North, John P. Jones, Eugene Doody, John Peddicord, John Watson, H. W. Dozer, W. J. Ryan, Alexander Johnson, Samuel Llewellyn, George Lamb, Redmond Doran, William Embleton, Thomas H. Miller, John Johnson, John Thompson, John Fudge, James McKee, W. H. Bassett, Hugh Lynch, John H. Taylor, James Murrey, John McBride, E. Lewis, Chris Evans, N. R. Hysell, James Nelson, John Millgate, William J. Evans, Daniel Price, John Harrington, Michael Leonard.

After the appointment of committees, resolutions were adopted as follows:

That we pledge ourselves to sustain the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers in all efforts to maintain scale rates in all competing sections, financially and otherwise.

That President McBride, N. R. Hysell and Chris Evans be elected to represent the State organization at the annual convention of the Ohio State Trades and Labor Assembly, February 21, 1888.

That Executive Secretary Chris Evans and President McBride be elected as the miners' representatives upon the scale committee, which meets in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, February 3, 1888.

That we extend to the anthracite miners of Pennsylvania, now resisting a reduction in wages, our heartfelt sympathy and our indorsement of the justice of their position.

John H. Taylor, Alexander Johnson and William H. Crawford were appointed a committee to wait upon Governor Foraker and present resolutions indorsing the candidacy of Samuel Llewellyn, W. T. Lewis and Thomas Middleton for the position of inspector of mines.

John McBride was elected president, Alexander Johnson vice-president, and Ebenezer Lewis secretary-treasurer for the ensuing term.

There was a lively discussion in the convention during its sessions over the conflicting methods practiced by the two mine workers' organizations, both State and national. The feeling displayed by the speakers in defense of the Ohio miners' State organization, that had fought such noble and self-sacrificing battles to place it at the top where it now stood, was so convincing that the deafening sound of echoes enraptured the Ohio delegates to such a degree that all were willing to act as one in the maintenance of the organization they loved so well for the good work it had accomplished during the many years in which it had taken the lead toward bettering the condition of mine workers in every State of the Union. The convention then adjourned. John McBride president, Ebenezer Lewis secretary.

At the miners' annual State convention of Illinois, held in January, 1888, President Daniel McLaughlin called the meeting to order, and the credentials committee reported the following delegates entitled to seats in the convention: Daniel McLaughlin, Robert O'Neill, William E. Smith, William Scaife, John Wilson, John McLaughlin, H. Carroll, H. W. Smith, Robert Reed, John Learmouth, James Johnson, Frank Penny, E. W. Connaughton, James R. Edwards, John Grey, Stephen Bowen, W. A. Berkstresser, D. H. Jenkins, William Blackman, John Berkrodt, E. O'Neil, P. H. Donnelly, George Partington, Thomas Rookin, Patrick McMahan, Peter McCall, Andrew Burke, A. Obenieser, Robert Paden, Alexander Smith and James Boston.

At this time President McLaughlin had served two years as a member of the Illinois Legislature, and was re-elected to serve another term. While a member of the law-making body he took an active part in securing legislation for the miners

of the State. He was also re-elected as the miners' State president at the convention, with James Boston vice-president and P. H. Donnelly secretary-treasurer, and the convention adjourned. Daniel McLaughlin, president; P. H. Donnelly, secretary-treasurer.

JOINT AGREEMENT BETWEEN MINERS AND OPERATORS OF HOCKING VALLEY.

We, the undersigned, representing the miners and mine operators of the Hocking valley, do hereby agree that from and after this date there shall be no free turns allowed to either room or entry miners. The entries shall be driven as fast as operators desire or conditions permit, but in no case will entry miners be allowed more cars per week than room miners, and at least once each week the turn shall be made uniform throughout the mine for the time previously worked. If, however, the regular turn will not allow cars enough to drive entries as fast as desired, the operators shall increase the number of miners in each entry, so that by giving to each the regular turn the entries shall be driven as rapidly as two miners could do with full work. If, however, the room men decline to take their places in the entries when requested to do so by the operators, then the entry men shall have free turns until such time as the entries are driven the required length.

2. The loading of cars too heavily often causes loss to a company by reason of breakage, etc., yet we recognize the fact that miners are not able to judge the exact amount of coal they place within a car. Therefore to protect each party from unnecessary loss a limit shall be fixed by each operator at each mine as to the amount cars should contain, and all coal placed in a car in excess of the limit shall go to the company, except where a miner loads two or more cars in any one day, some of which contain coal in excess of the limit agreed upon and others with less than the limited amount, when this occurs 200 pounds of the excess on one car shall be given to the car belonging to the same miner containing two or more hundred pounds less than the limit agreed upon.

3. When mining rates are fixed at 70 cents per ton the price for driving single-shift dry entries shall be \$1.75 per yard, and for every advance or decline of 10 cents per ton in mining rates an advance or decline of 25 cents per yard shall be made in entry price.

4. Double-shift and wet entries shall be paid for at such additional rates per yard as may be agreed upon by the mine boss and the entry men.

The agreement, so far as it relates to entries, shall take effect from December 15, 1887.

Signed on behalf of miners by—

JOHN MCBRIDE,
JOHN H. TAYLOR.

Signed on behalf of operators by—

Z. WILLIAMS,
EDMUND A. COLE.

Columbus, Ohio, January 5 and 23, 1888.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THIRD ANNUAL JOINT CONFERENCE MINERS AND OPERATORS AT PITTSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA.

On February 7, 1888, the third annual joint conference of miners and operators was held at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.

The conference was called to order by Col. S. N. Yeoman, who made the following remarks:

Gentlemen of the Convention—I desire to congratulate you on this occasion for the harmony which has prevailed during the past year as a result of your combined efforts in the interest of laborers and operators.

Chris Evans acted as temporary secretary.

This was a joint conference in which delegates from the two miners' organizations—National Trades Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, and the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers—participated. On the question of appointing a committee on credentials the method and composition of its members created considerable display of oratory, but the following members were finally selected:

Operators—J. C. Townsend, Indiana; H. L. Chapman, Ohio; W. P. DeArmitt, Pennsylvania. No operator was present to represent Illinois.

Miners—James Cantwell, Indiana; John McBride, Ohio; John Farrell, Pennsylvania; P. H. Donnelly, Illinois.

Oscar Townsend, operator, made the following statement concerning the State of Illinois:

It would be proper for me to state, as president of the interstate board of arbitration and conciliation for last year, that I received notice from Colonel Sweet of Illinois that the State of Illinois had withdrawn from the conference and would not co-operate with us any further.

A general discussion was then entered into on the admission of delegates, the conditions upon which several miner delegates present from the low-grade division of Pennsylvania, West Virginia and other points that had no operators present should be entitled to participate in the proceedings of the joint conference.

On the question under consideration the chairman made the following remarks:

Here are delegates on the part of miners asking admission to your convention. Here are two or three operators from one district who are undecided whether they shall represent the whole State or not. That is the situation.

Mr. Logue—I move that those delegates have the privileges of this convention.

The wording of this motion gave rise to considerable debate, after which John McBride offered an amendment as follows:

I move to amend as follows: "That the miners or operators from States not represented by both parties be entitled to a voice and to sit in this convention but not to a vote, nor shall they serve on any committee in determining the prices for those districts jointly represented."

Upon this amendment and the original motion many questions were asked and explanations given on the methods by which the votes were cast in the joint conferences held, together with the reading of the resolution by which the secretary had issued the call for this conference. The method of voting was explained as follows:

That each of the States represented by both miners and operators were entitled to eight votes, four to be cast by miners and four by operators.

With this rule made clear it was evident that the number of delegates of either miners or operators made no difference in the final vote cast. The secretary said:

We are here at the instance of an agreement entered into at Columbus one year ago. According to the resolution, it reads that the next annual meeting shall be held at Pittsburg on February 7, 1888, the object being to adopt a scale of prices for the ensuing year. That is all there is in the call.

After a few more remarks on the question the chairman called for a vote on the amendment, which was carried. Another motion was made on the original motion as amended that was also adopted.

Owing to John McBride being a member of the scale committee, he suggested that the name of Mr. Llewellyn of Ohio be placed on the committee on credentials for Ohio, which was agreed to. The name of H. L. Chapman, operator, at his request, J. A. Beidler was named to act for the operators of Ohio. On a similar request by Mr. Farrell, miner of Pennsylvania, John Costello was made the representative for that State.

The new committee on credentials as now constituted consisted of J. C. Townsend of Indiana, J. A. Beidler of Ohio and W. D. DeArmitt of Pennsylvania for the operators. For the miners, James Cantwell of Indiana, Samuel Llewellyn of Ohio and John Costello of Pennsylvania.

On the call of States for representatives present, P. L. Kimberly, operator from West Virginia, said:

I am here in behalf of a certain coal company in West Virginia.

In the absence of any other representative from that State the chairman stated that he would take the liberty of appointing P. L. Kimberly.

Mr. Chapman—I don't want to, nor do I desire to, deprive the gentleman who is here from West Virginia from representing that State in this convention as an individual operator, but I was called on in the city of Springfield, Ohio, by the secretary, Mr. Hollywood, of the coal operators of the Kanawha region, representing some fifteen different companies, who said to me that by the action of the operators in that district they did not expect nor intend to be represented in this convention. If any of them come here and represent that he represents the operators of the State of West Virginia, I wish he would state whether he desires to be understood as representing all these coal companies which I will

name. (After reading the names he continued.) I desire to ask that question in order to inform the convention in regard to the matter.

On motion the matter was referred to the credential committee.

At this juncture a motion was made that a committee be appointed to procure a more suitable hall, one not quite so large, in which to transact the business of the joint conference, when the statement was made that Lafayette Hall, on Wood street, had been secured for further meetings.

The secretary was then asked to read the following paper :

Chamber of Commerce,
Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, February 1, 1888.

Whereas, The third annual convention of the coal miners and operators will be held in this city on Tuesday, February 7, 1888;

Resolved, That the Chamber of Commerce of the city of Pittsburg hereby cordially welcomes the miners and operators composing the said convention and extends to them the use of this chamber.

D. L. HENRY, Secretary.

On motion the invitation and resolution be accepted and that a vote of thanks be tendered the Chamber of Commerce for their courtesies.

The motion was adopted, and the conference adjourned to meet at 2 o'clock p. m. at Lafayette Hall.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION.

The convention was called to order by Colonel Yeoman at 3 o'clock p. m.

While there had been prolonged discussions at the morning session on the question of representation, up to this time the committee on credentials had not yet made any report, and in consequence the conference was not yet permanently organized. In the meantime the chairman called upon Col. W. P. Rend to address the convention. Mr. Rend accepted the invitation and made a very interesting address, from which the following excerpts are here noted:

To begin with, I congratulate you upon this magnificent meeting here—this increased representation of miners and operators. I also congratulate you upon what is manifested, and that is this sentiment in favor of settling the question of wages in this industry by arbitration and conciliation. Gentlemen, I think we start with one accord, one mind and one sentiment on that subject. But, gentlemen, there are confronting us a large number of difficulties. Difficulties, many of which have loomed up within the past few days, that are of a very serious magnitude. I believe, I trust, and I hope that there is in this convention sound sense, patience and wise council to meet each and every one of those difficulties, and to solve them in accordance with fairness and common justice.

If we view these different questions in their proper aspects it seems to me that we will find a way to solve them. This is the most advanced plan of settling the questions between us that has ever been attempted. It is in advance of arbitration and conciliation. (Applause.) They are simply the adjuncts of this plan. Let us try to arrive at satisfactory solutions of these problems and the result will be beneficial to all. We can solve these problems, adopt a scale and endorse it unanimously and return home to our families feeling that we have acted fairly and honestly with one another.

It is unnecessary for me to dwell on this advance in wages, which has been as a result of this movement.

It is certainly acknowledged to have been a benefit to all; it has for two years secured peace and brought happiness to many a home in this country; it has been a benefit alike to miner and operator, and as my friend Wilton said he had another baby in his house as a result. (Applause.) This proves the fact that the statements of political economists are often true. Recardo, John Stuart Mill and other great thinkers on social subjects say that an increase of population is governed by the standard of wages. When we brought up the wages 15 per cent the result then is 15 per cent increase in population. Now this is a serious question which we should not treat with levity. There are questions that will come before us which will demand an earnest argument. Let us take up these things one by one, acting coolly with questions as they are discussed by either side in justice to each other, and I believe the end will be satisfactory. We must look at the difficulties and the surroundings by which we are all environed. Let us act on the golden rule to "Do unto others as we would wish to be done by." Let us act in this movement in the spirit of the last convention, in the spirit of good will and peace, and we will do away with all these strikes and lock-outs with all their riots and bloodsheds. If we will act in that spirit which

is commanded by the highest of all powers; if we will act, as I said before, in accordance with the golden rule, "To do unto others as we would wish to be done by," blessings many and great will flow from the convention which is here assembled and peace and happiness will reign in many a home.

The Chairman—Gentlemen, permit me to introduce to you one who in my judgment, not excepting Colonel Rend, has done more to bring about harmonious feelings between the miners and operators than any other man in the country to-day, Hon. John McBride. (Applause.)

Mr. McBride—Gentlemen of the Convention: It is certainly very much against my will to be compelled, as it were, by the voice of this convention, to make a speech now. I had hoped to overwhelm you with the force of my eloquence and persuasive powers before we got through, and it seems to me like stealing away my thunder beforehand to call upon me now. (Applause.) However, inasmuch as we have nothing to do until the committee reports, it seems proper and right that an exchange of opinions should be had by those who are interested in this movement, and I take it that we are all interested. The gentleman who has just introduced me to you has said that he considered that I have done as much, if not, more, than any other man in this movement. Gentlemen, we have all had sufficient to do. I believe we have all striven to do our duty. Some of us may have been faint-hearted and grown weary with the burdens laid upon us by some not conducting themselves as fairly as we would have desired. Yet this movement still is of interest to them. The picture outlined by my friend as to the difficulties now presented for our consideration are no greater, no more momentous, than were those presented one year ago, and I can say with safety that they are not as great as were the difficulties that confronted us when we first assembled as miners and operators in the city of Pittsburg. Perseverance, honesty, fair dealings between those operators and miners who believed in the movement and are inclined to do right, who believe that disputes between employer and employes ought to be adjusted on the basis of equity, justice and right, have been the means of removing those difficulties, or a number of them, at least. Gradually they have grown smaller, until, indeed, it seems that although we have one or two difficulties to meet, today we are nearer to success than we were two years ago. (Applause.)

My friend Rend has pointed out to you the difficulties in the southwest portion of this competitive district; I do not doubt his statement that you have difficulties there, and yet, while it may be true, there are other things to be considered in connection with it. I want to state to you, my friends,

that so far as the miners are concerned they have made a gallant fight for the maintenance of scale rates fixed upon at the late Columbus convention, and in the tSate of Illinois, although prices have not been advanced strictly in accordance with the provisions of that scale, yet the prices they are paying for coal mining in Illinois will compare and reach above the prices paid in Ohio, Indiana and western Pennsylvania, when we compare the size of their screens, which are only seven-eighths between the bars, while Indiana has one and a half, Ohio one and one-fourth, and Pennsylvania one and one-half. When those are considered, and the prices paid there for mining, and the comparison is drawn between the miners' wages there and the prices paid miners elsewhere, it must be remembered that there were many things which compelled the miners to hesitate in reference to northern Illinois concerning the enforcement of scale prices. [Here the speaker was interrupted for a few moments.]

As I was saying, gentlemen, that the members made an honest effort to carry out the scale; yet when we point to the Illinois prices we must admit that the operators of Illinois agreed to those prices when the scale was adopted. They certainly, after fixing that scale, however, did not act with that spirit of fairness warranted by this federated movement. Why? Because the scale was only a portion of our agreement. We appointed a joint board of arbitration and conciliation, whose duties it was to consider inequalities in scale provisions, and if the operators of Illinois failed, saying that an act of injustice had been done them by reason of the prices named in the scale, they should have laid their case candidly and honestly before that board and asked for an honest adjudication. This, I believe, would have been granted. I say the operators of Illinois were wrong, yet the miners sought to do what was right. What did they do? You know that even in the State of Illinois that the strike at Grape Creek, that continued throughout the year, and so far as the miners are concerned is still continued, has cost the miners forty thousand dollars, which had to be paid out of their own hard earnings.

Now to southern Illinois. There, too, we are at the expense of sending missionaries into their fields urging them to advance wages. This was done at great cost to the miners, and they were finally brought up to the level of those in northern Illinois. We certainly did our duty in that respect. Now, we have found in the States of Ohio, Indiana and other places operators who participated in our convention, who were pledged to do what was right, and yet did not. It cost us in the State of Ohio last year—it cost our association in that State alone—nearly six thousand dollars to maintain

scale wages in the State of Ohio, where the operators did not refuse to comply. These are some of the difficulties we anticipated, some of the difficulties that are gradually growing less, because I am convinced that the operators who are pledged to support the scale in the State of Ohio will not again cross swords with the miners in that State on the question of scale prices. (Applause.) Not only that, but we will turn to the State of Pennsylvania:

Western Pennsylvania—I know they have difficulties connected with the coal production here. I know you have lost nearly a million tons of coal here annually, and that you have turned the production of your mines into our western and northwestern markets, and with the Illinois and Indiana markets we find that the product of this western Pennsylvania field has increased nearly a quarter of a million tons. What does this mean? Nearly a million tons of coal from this western field in excess of what was put into western markets two years ago now is placed with the markets of western coal fields. In other words, all who had consumers at home have had their production displaced by natural gas, forcing them to turn that production toward the western markets. When this movement was first commenced the condition of affairs was different. Where do I get proof for what I say? I take it from the mine inspectors' reports from the States of Ohio, Illinois and Pennsylvania.

In stating those facts and offering to support them, I say it not with a view to accusing miners or operators of unfairness, but to show that there are difficulties confronting us now no greater than those which confronted us two years ago, and one year ago, and throughout the entire time for which our scale was named, and it is nothing new to see these difficulties before us to be contended with during the next year. Now, let us consider this from a broad standpoint as an organization of operators and miners, and not attempt to shoulder all the responsibilities and burdens of carrying into effect the scale of prices upon the miners alone. (Applause.)

It is true, gentlemen, that the operators have been benefited. It is true that the miners have been benefited; but I can safely say that during the past two years at least one-third of the entire benefits that the miners have received has been expended by them for the purpose of maintaining scale conditions, and they have not realized that entire benefit to which they are justly entitled under that agreement. This is not as it should be, gentlemen. I know that. Neither is the agreement perfect. Neither is the system perfect. It is as much, possibly, as we could expect under the circumstances. Possibly there are circumstances now that prevent us mak-

ing it more perfect, but all attempts in that direction should receive the entire support of the miners to operators and operators to miners. It seems to me that the limit of this scale district ought to be extended. Here in Pennsylvania the companies complain. Do they complain so much in Illinois? Now they complain of Mr. Scott's competition. They complain here of the Pennsylvania Gas Company and of the Westmoreland company. These they say are their competitors and are injuring them more than Illinois competition by far. Now I believe the miners and operators interested in this movement believe that this is a good system, by organization, to secure fair competition in the trade. They think, and think rightly, that they should join hands and secure the co-operation of all competing districts, and if they will not do this, to force them by other honorable means to recognize the fact that we have rights connected with the trade that must and shall be respected. (Applause.)

The Chairman—If the committee is ready to report, that report will now be received by the house.

Mr. DeArmitt reported as follows:

Mr. President and Chairman:

The committee on credentials has requested me to present their report, and it may be said in the beginning that the credentials from the low-grade division from West Virginia and from Illinois were not examined, the committee taking the view that the courtesy of the association was broad enough to cover any defect which might be found in their credentials. The names of the Pennsylvania and Ohio delegates are here, and those of Indiana. The names of the operators from Ohio are here represented by the names of the companies which they represent, and as the names of the mines are called the parties here representing them as delegates will answer their names when the roll is called. (See final list of delegates decided upon at the end of the proceedings.)

The Chairman—You have heard the report of the committee on credentials, what shall be done therewith?

A Delegate—I move that the report be adopted.

The Chairman—It is moved and seconded that the report of the committee on credentials be adopted.

After a heated discussion for and against the report made, the chairman suggested that as this is only a partial report of the committee on credentials that this be re-referred to that same committee to be reported on when they make their final report. The dissatisfaction felt over some names not being on the list of the report made caused several of the

miners' representatives to leave their seats in the conference, when Mr. Dempster moved that it be referred to that committee to be reported on at the evening session.

The Chairman—You have heard the motion that the credentials of the gentlemen who have just left their seats in this convention be referred to the committee on credentials with instructions to report this evening. Are there any remarks?

The discussion that followed was of a soothing nature at times, while at other times it was harsh and severe.

By request the secretary was again called upon to read the resolution covering the points at issue, after which the chairman of the committee on credentials made the following statement:

We decided that in the case of the States of Illinois and West Virginia, as there were no operators here seeking a voice in this convention, that the miners could not have a vote in this convention, but that they could have a voice; but here Pennsylvania is largely represented. Ohio may have representatives here on the part of the miners that are not represented by the operators from their immediate districts, but the miners are not, therefore, cut out of their votes. It may be the same in the States of Indiana and Pennsylvania, that there are miners here from districts not represented by operators from that particular district, but there are operators here representing those States.

The discussion continued at great length, and was participated in by a large number of representatives present, each advocating with vigor their respective positions, when the motion to refer was called for, voted on and adopted.

The Chairman—The next business, gentlemen, will be your permanent organization.

Mr. Dempster was nominated for chairman and elected by acclamation.

Mr. Dempster ascended the platform and spoke as follows:

Gentlemen—I thank you for the honor, and I have no doubt that my hope will be realized that the defects of the chairman may be hidden by his ability not being called upon to exhibit itself over you during the coming session, and that all bickerings may pass away and that all will be smooth and harmonious when we adjourn after we have terminated our proceedings, completed our scale and completed the arrange-

ments which will make money for miners and operators. (Applause.)

A Delegate—I nominate Chris Evans as secretary to this meeting.

Carried unanimously.

Patrick McBryde was unanimously elected as an additional secretary, after P. H. Donnelly and Lewis James had declined to be candidates.

The secretary then read the following report:

Second Annual Report of the Secretary of the National Arbitration and Conciliation Board of Miners and Operators.

To the Joint Conference of Miners and Operators at the Third Annual Meeting, Held at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, in La-Fayette Hall, February 7, 1888:

Gentlemen—As secretary of the joint board of arbitration and conciliation it affords me much pleasure to submit for your consideration a brief report of their work during the past year.

At the last annual meeting, held at Columbus, Ohio, February 8-11, 1887, a joint board of arbitration and conciliation was elected, consisting of two miners and two operators from each State, represented as follows:

Operators—Ohio, Oscar Townsend and H. L. Chapman; Indiana, J. R. Kendall and W. H. Zimmerman; Illinois, E. T. Bent and M. T. Ames; Pennsylvania, John Blythe and George W. Schluederberg.

Miners—Illinois, Daniel McLaughlin and T. J. Armstrong; Indiana, Henry Hargreaves and William Houston; Ohio, John McBride and Chris Evans; Pennsylvania, John Britt and G. W. Barker.

At the close of the meeting the board organized and elected Oscar Townsend of Cleveland, Ohio, president, and Chris Evans of New Straitsville, Ohio, secretary.

The first meeting of the board was held at the Neil House, Columbus, Ohio, May 4. Each State was fully represented by the operators, and the miners' representatives were all present except G. W. Barker, Pennsylvania. The object for which the meeting had been called was to consider the following resolution, adopted at the last annual conference:

“Resolved, That the price for mining be advanced 5 cents per ton from May 1 until November 1, 1887, and 5 cents more from November 1, 1887, until May 1, 1888. The above shall not take effect until those districts named in the scale shall have complied with the provisions of such scale or are idle

by reason of failure to comply, it being hereby delegated to the interstate board of arbitration and conciliation to declare when all districts named in the scale shall have complied substantially with its provisions. It shall be the duty of said board to determine said question of compliance prior to March 15, next, and give notice thereof. Upon the first report of such compliance the advance shall take effect as of May 1, 1887."

After a very animated discussion on the question by the members, Mr. Wyatt and Mr. Kangley, operators from Illinois, were admitted and participated very freely, leaving no doubt in the minds of the members of the board as to their true position on the question under consideration. At the close of the debate the following resolution was unanimously agreed to:

"Resolved, That the conditions of the scale as contemplated by the February convention, strictly construed, have not been substantially complied with, but so much progress has been made toward the fulfillment of its requirements, and the outlook for a full compliance at an early date being good, we deem it expedient and wise to grant additional time to the miners to enable them to succeed in the establishment of prices mutually agreed upon, and hereby declare that the 5 cents per ton advance shall take effect May 1, 1887, and remain in force as originally intended, or until such time as some district named in the scale has failed to comply with its provisions, or the miners or mines of said district have resumed work at prices below those named for that district.

"Resolved further, That the chairman of the board, upon information that the scale prices are not being complied with, shall convene the board at as early a date as possible, and the members of the board shall, even by a tie vote, have power to declare the provisions of the scale non-effective."

A letter was then read by the secretary from Col. S. N. Yeoman, president of the joint State arbitration and conciliation board of Indiana, treating on a grievance of the price question presented to the State Board of Indiana by Woodruff & Trunkey Bros. and the miners under their employ at Coal Creek. The State board, having failed to agree in adjusting the difficulty, it was presented to the interstate board, both parties agreeing to abide by the decision rendered. The secretary of the interstate board was authorized to notify the parties aggrieved to be present at the next meeting of the board for the purpose of hearing both sides on the question, and the meeting adjourned.

The second meeting was held in room 60, at No. 175 Dearborn street, Chicago, Ill., May 18, with each State represented

by both miners and operators. The president, on stating the object of the meeting, said he had made the call at the request of the members on the board from Illinois. The secretary then read the resolution adopted at Columbus, Ohio, May 4, and a very lively discussion followed, the members on the Indiana operators, together with operators from Illinois, who were present in full force. At the close of a hard day's struggle, the following resolution was agreed upon, the members representing the operators from Illinois voting in the negative:

"Resolved, That the resolution passed at the meeting of the board, at Columbus, Ohio, May 4, 1887, holds good during the month of May, but should the conditions of the scale adopted at the interstate convention not be complied with, according to the interpretation of the Illinois operators, by the 21st day of June next, the board shall meet and declare that all parties interested shall be relieved from their obligations."

The Indiana grievance of Woodruff & Trunkey Bros. and their miners was next considered, and a committee appointed consisting of J. M. Walters, operator, and David Ross, miner, with power to arbitrate and adjust the difficulty. Failing to agree, however, they were authorized to select an umpire, whose decision should be final.

The following protest was read by the secretary, and ordered to be entered on the minutes and published:

"We, the coal operators of northern Illinois, hereby protest against the advance of 5 cents per ton ordered by the national committee of operators and miners, the 4th day of May, 1887, to be paid by the operators of northern Illinois. We protest against the advance as unjust and unfair, because the conditions of the resolution under which said advance was to be paid, have not been fulfilled.

"We desire to put ourselves on record as being entirely willing to carry out our part of the agreement when said conditions are complied with, and as proof that we have from the beginning been in hearty sympathy with the movement to combine harmoniously the interests of miners and operators, we refer to the fact that during mining year, from May 1, 1886, to May 1, 1887, we did pay the advance ordered by the Columbus convention, February 8, 1886, notwithstanding the fact that the scale was not complied with by the operators of southern and central Illinois; but on the contrary the miners accepted less per ton than was given before the adoption of the scale at Columbus. We now submit to all fair-minded men that a further advance on our part until the central and southern Illinois operators are brought up to the Columbus

scale and the further advance of 5 cents per ton, is unreasonable and unjust, and in justice to ourselves and the interests we represent, we cannot, and will not, pay any advance until all the conditions of the resolution herein are fully complied with."

The meeting adjourned to meet at Indianapolis, Indiana, on June 21, 1887.

The third meeting was held at the Bates House, Indianapolis, Indiana, June 21, as per resolution agreed upon at the last meeting, and all States entitled to representation were represented, the operators of Illinois excepted.

During the interval between May 18 and June 21 it was deemed advisable by several members of the interstate board to call a joint meeting of the State boards of Ohio, Pennsylvania and Indiana prior to the meeting of June 21 in order that the interstate board might have a general understanding with the members of the State boards before taking final action on the question, as it had become very complicated and upon their decision rested the entire question as to whether the joint movement which had given such satisfactory results during the past year, should continue, or whether it should be allowed to fall to pieces and re-enact the former mode of warfare to adjust differences.

As a result of the above conclusions, a conference of the State boards was held and the recommendations were of such a nature as to give entire satisfaction to the interstate board, and the following was unanimously agreed upon:

"Whereas, The interstate board of arbitration and conciliation, at an adjourned meeting held at Indianapolis, Indiana, June 21, 1887, having had under consideration the question of the continuation or nullification of scale provisions, deemed it wise and expedient to waive all other considerations and adopt the recommendations of the operators' State boards of Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania, which read as follows:

"In view of the fact that the conditions upon which an advance was authorized by the Columbus convention have not been complied with, we regard the base scale of 1887 devoid of any advance, as in force and binding upon both operators and miners; but in recognition of the efforts of the miners to secure the advance, by bringing all districts up to the scale, and as a further evidence of our belief in the fundamental principle of our organization—"arbitration and conciliation"—we are willing to declare an advance of 5 cents above the base scale as fixed at the Columbus convention of February 10, 1887, for six months, viz.: from May 1, 1887, to November 1, 1887; but if on November 1, 1887, the mining districts

of Illinois are not paying the Columbus scale prices for 1887, then the further advance of 5 cents shall not be granted; but the price from November 1, 1887, to May 1, 1888, shall remain the same as from May 1, 1887, to November 1, 1887.'"

The committee on the grievance at Coal Creek, Indiana, reported that both members had visited the place and that the operators were not willing to arbitrate the question. After considering the report it was decided by the board to refer the question back to the Indiana State board.

The meeting then adjourned to meet again on or before November 15.

The fourth and last meeting of the board was held at the Niel House, Columbus, Ohio, November 14, a full board being present, except the operators of Illinois.

The spirited debates that had characterized the former meetings were not so freely indulged in at this one, but after a calm and careful consideration of the situation, the following was unanimously approved:

"Whereas, At the meeting of the interstate board of arbitration and conciliation, held at Indianapolis, Indiana, June 21, 1887, an advance of 5 cents per ton was granted from May 1, 1887, to November 1, 1887, and a resolution was passed by which it was declared the further advance of 5 cents, to take effect on November 1, 1887, should not be paid unless the mining districts of Illinois were brought up to the Columbus scale; and

"Whereas, The information before this board is that the effort to bring the price of mining in Illinois up to the scale, has not proved entirely successful. The agreement to declare the further advance of 5 cents November 1 is not binding; however, the board in recognition of the progress made in certain parts of Illinois in bringing the mining price up to the scale, and as an encouragement to future efforts in the same direction, and believing that if the further advance of 5 cents is declared in force as of November 1, it would tend to strengthen the organization which we desire to perpetuate; it is therefore

"Resolved, That the fulfillment of the contract be waived, and the advance of 5 cents per ton be paid from and after November 1, 1887, to May 1, 1888."

It will be observed that owing to the conditions upon which last year's scale of prices were paid, several meetings of the board were held for the purpose of adjusting that much vexed problem, and our best wishes are that the incoming board will be relieved of that duty during the coming year.

The conciliatory manner in which the work of the board has been done convinces us that both miners and operators have profited by the conclusions reached.

The experience of two years has practically demonstrated the wisdom of adopting scale rates, and the system should be continued. The rights of the many should be strictly guarded against the encroachments of the few, and with honest efforts to carry out these principles the mining interest will be better protected, and in the future equal rights will be granted to all parties concerned.

Respectfully submitted,

CHRIS EVANS, Secretary.

A motion was made that a scale committee consisting of four miners and four operators from each State represented by both was adopted.

The conference then adjourned to meet at 8 o'clock, P.M.

TUESDAY EVENING SESSION.

Conference called to order at 8 o'clock by Chairman Dempster.

On motion of Mr. Foster the rules and order of business governing the conference the previous year at Columbus was adopted.

Order of Business.

1. Fixing the basis of representation.
2. The formation of State and interstate board of arbitration and conciliation.
3. Consideration of report of committee on fixing scale of prices for next year.
4. Consideration of matter referred to national board of arbitration and conciliation.
5. Fixing time and place of adjournment.

Mr. Wilton, being called upon to address the convention, spoke as follows:

Gentlemen—I am glad to see you here. I am glad to be here. Times have undergone a mighty change since I was in Pittsburg last. I was sent here as a delegate from the Shenango strike in 1875 to go through these mills and beg for money. I collected loads of money through the amalga-

mated association and they eat it all up. When a breezy fellow like me gets started the hardest thing is to get stopped. But, gentlemen, let me say that I have waited in the spirit of a certain man who sowed certain seed by the wayside; or rather a man who went forth to sow certain seed and as he sowed some fell by the wayside and the fowls of the air devoured it before it had time to grow. Others fell into stony ground and because it had not proper depthness of earth when the sun began to shine it scorched the seed and it never bore any fruit. Some other of the seeds grew up to be tall, slender plants, until they became taller than old Uncle Sam. It had not strength enough to bear fruit and it drooped and died. Other seeds fell into good ground and some bore sixty, some thirty and some one hundred fold; and so, gentlemen, has it been with the grand and glorious association of miners and mine laborers. (Applause.) Some of the seeds you have planted fell by the wayside and the men devoured it before it had time to grow. Some fell among stony ground and it grew and bore a very good blade, but when it came to bear fruit it had not received its maturity and demanded a fruit before it had strength to produce it, and the result was they turned their backs on the glorious institution that has for its object the elevation of fallen humanity, and peace, and joy and contentment for employers and employes, for miners and for operators. (Applause.) Some fell into fertile ground and when that sprung up progress began to grow up by its side but soon began to bear too heavily against it, and, like the man who is squeezing a girl, he squeezes her so tight that he kills her in the embrace. You can smother a child to death by kisses. My motto is, "Give it plenty of air." (Applause.) Let it stand in the valley and on the side of the mountain and let it exclaim, "Give air, oh Heaven, give air on earth for the Lord God Omnipotent reigns."

"I have brought up children and they have rebelled against me." That is the cry of the federation today. You all know me, gentlemen. I am the old war horse of the miners' national association. I am the man who went with old John Siney and the little fellow that sits here writing (Mr. Evans) to preach arbitration and conciliation throughout western Pennsylvania, and I stand here today. I have come up through the ranks of digging coal and I am glad I don't have to do it any more. I have worked my way up and I am now a little one-horse operator, and I am on the top of my own manure pile tonight and can crow in Pennsylvania. (Applause.) I have never had an angry word with a miner nor have I had a strike among my men ever since I started in for myself, never since I left the pit. (Applause.) Find a man that I have ever quar-

reled with in regard to price. Not a one. I never went into a man's place yet and came out with him mad. Honesty, harmony, peace and quiet characterize every deal between me and my men, and I stand here tonight, as I said before, a one-horse coal operator who is ever ready to settle with his men on a fair basis; but I will deal with no man in regard to prices, a horseback or dead-work or anything else though, unless he is a miner, a practical coal digger in the true sense of the word. (Applause.) He must be a man who does the work or one who understands it and knows how to dig a ton of coal.

What has the federation done up to the present day? When was it first sailed out of the harbor, and what has it carried? Who are the men at the rudder? There is one. I know what he is. He and I dug coal together. If you get men of true American character, and if those men go forward and preach the doctrine of "Whatsoever a man soweth, so shall he reap," success will go with them. What is it that causes so much trouble between employers and employes? Both want to be bosses. Now, I admit the employer has advantages over the employe. Then there comes a strike, and the pocketbook and the stomach get empty, and the poor men have to eat what they would scorn at other times. It is an unequal contest. A man that will come in and invent something that will produce peace, joy and happiness between the parties who have been at daggers' points from time immemorial, is certainly a reformer in the truest sense of the word. If a man in this country is as poor as Job's turkey, or as poor as a church mouse, he tries to keep his character pure. He will struggle through this world against all her difficulties, and when the end comes, and when God sends His angel to call him from this earth, he will find that he hasn't far to go, that he was nearer heaven than he ever thought he was. (Applause.) Gentlemen, a man must have courage and principles. The man who advocates principles in the midst of storm, that is the man who is going to get along; he is bound to come out ahead. Can you get such men to advocate the principles of the federation? Such men would be a blessing to humanity. If there is a man on the face of this green earth than can sow an institution that with two years' growth can produce such fruit as the federation of miners and mine operators, for God's sake give me his picture, and I will tack it up in my room, and I will teach my boy to remember that there is a man who is better than the federation.

Now, gentlemen, let me say in conclusion, that you should always keep in view the benefits of this great movement. When a man thinks that he is being imposed upon he has the court of appeals to look to, or rather the State board of arbi-

tration and conciliation, which is one of the grandest institutions that has ever been invented since the sun shone forth in all its splendor on the morning of its birth. (Applause.)

By way of explanation to remarks made, Chairman DeArmitt for the committee said:

In regard to the names or the credentials which were held in abeyance this afternoon, the names being William H. Lowry, Morris Gray and Thomas McQuade, Thomas McQuade resigned and the committee are unable to decide upon the credentials of William H. Lowry and Morris T. Gray, and they leave it to the convention to decide.

In response to the chair, Mr. DeArmitt further said:

The operators from Indiana objected to these three parties, all of whom are from that State. The operators are represented on the floor and they can best present those objections. In regard to the amended resolution of the house and regarding the names of those gentlemen who left their seats this forenoon, those delegates, so far as they represent and are workers in Pennsylvania, according to the committee's report, their understanding of the resolution is that they are entitled to a vote in this convention. Their names are as follows: William B. Wilson, James McCutcheon, Elk Lick; Daniel Brown, Irwin Station; J. W. Killduff, Joseph Dickson, S. A. Meyers, Thomas Proudman, Essen; Fred Ryder, Jackson Center; Henry Northover, Philipsburg; John F. Farrel, Houtzdale; John B. Rea, Coalmont, all of Pennsylvania.

The parties are here from West Virginia without votes, with voice. Their names are: J. Robert Foster, Pryor Station, Virginia; Michael F. Moran and Thomas Farry, West Virginia.

To a request made for the names of the Illinois delegates, Mr. DeArmitt said:

It has been suggested that David Ross has been inadvertently omitted from that list.

On motion the report of the committee was received.

By way of explanation on other remarks made, Chairman DeArmitt for the committee again said that the Indiana operators were present and could best present their objections. This caused a great deal of discussion, in which Colonel Yeoman, William T. Lewis and John McBride played prominent parts.

Colonel Yeoman stated very clearly the cause for the Indiana operators objections to representatives of the Knights of

Labor having a vote in making the scale of prices for the coming year. The position he took was based largely on the rule that any one appearing here from a State that had its operators present had a right to voice and vote in the convention as a miner, but not as a representative of a labor organization owing allegiance to any other organization; that when the State of Indiana first commenced dealing with the question of arbitration and conciliation, it was with a labor organization known as miners and mine laborers of the federation. He further stated:

We have had trouble in the State of Indiana because a warfare has been deliberately waged on the part of the Knights of Labor organization against the mine laborers' organization with which we first began to deal and talk in a conciliatory way; however, since Knights of Labor members were recognized by the convention from Ohio and Pennsylvania, we might just as well let these gentlemen remain, and we remain with them. Our Indiana delegation of operators decided that it might be better for all concerned that these delegates should be requested to remain and the question brought before this convention; that this convention should be informed officially, in what way the Knights of Labor proposed to co-operate with the miners in this convention, as to what their position would be in the future, and that perhaps after the matter had been fully explained, if it could be, that they were here only as miners and not as representatives of the Knights of Labor; that they would only owe an obligation to the power of this convention, the Indiana delegation might change their minds on this question.

On the question under consideration, Wm. T. Lewis -- the representative of the Knights of Labor, and holding the chief office as master workman of National District Assembly No. 135, explained fully their position as members, a part of which follows:

I wish to speak a few words as the representative of the Knights of Labor, or that so-called element of the Knights of Labor, as its chief executive officer, as the master workman of National District Assembly No. 135, but also as the stern adherent, as one who has always labored to carry out your agreements. We have asked to come into this convention not as Knights of Labor, but as miners. It is probably necessary to go back a little bit; seemingly to deviate from the question. Some eighteen years ago the

good seed was planted in the organization of the Knights of Labor, and the rudiment of that was that it should include all branches of honorable toil. I know operators here present tonight who would not have met labor organizations fifteen or eighteen years ago, when the Knights of Labor was organized. The consequence was that we had to meet in secret session, not with an evil purpose, but with the intent and for the purpose of forming our organization, that we might develop one that would be satisfactory and beneficial to ourselves and the operators. That continued up until two or three years ago, until some of the men who are now leaders of the federation became the rebels from the Knights of Labor, not the Knights of Labor from the federation. We want that distinctly understood. (Applause.)

It was intended that the order, when it became strong enough, should branch out all the trades that were in the order, that they should branch out and manage their own trade affairs; but until they attained sufficient numerical strength to do that they should continue in a conglomerate way as they were. And sometimes in that conglomerate way they met in trade affairs, and made blunders in trade affairs. In the last two or three years a reformation has been made in the order. One of the best that has branched out was the miners' portion. They have branched out into a separate organization not with any intention of destroying your property. Had that been our intention I would not, as a representative of the mining element of the Knights of Labor, coincide with all the details of this scale arrangement. We have been fighting that arrangement for years past.

Our friends Mr. Anderson, Colonel Rend and Mr. Sherard, who have had dealings with us, can tell you that we have carried into effect this scale arrangement as conscientiously as the federation has done. We know when we have assumed a right position toward our employers, and I can say that had I assumed the position that was within my grasp last year at Columbus that I could have broken up the convention at Columbus last year, and Colonel Rend can bear me out in that. I could have broken it as far as Pennsylvania was concerned. The Knights of Labor would have been so disagreeable that during the last year you could not have carried into effect the provisions of the scale for last year had we been so inclined.

We met in convention before we came into this convention. We settled our differences agreeably. We are not willing to meet you as Knights of Labor or anything but miners of this country. That position, I think, ought to be fair enough. The burden of enforcing this scale rests mostly on

the shoulders of the miners. In consideration of their enforcing it you are willing to pay a fixed price. That being the case, it would appear to me that the miners are to fix the scale throughout the country, with your consent, and then they have only to enforce the scale throughout the country themselves.

Allow me to say this, that if this is not enlightenment enough, it is only briefly gone over. If they go out of this convention I believe they are at perfect liberty to do so. I believe that there is a possibility that they may make an advance for some time, but I believe the miners of this convention can cement themselves together and formulate a scale whether the operators are here or not, and we can see what we can do by way of enforcing the scale that we set in Indiana. That, gentlemen, is the position. Colonel Yeoman wanted an explanation of the different organizations, and wanted an enlightenment as to what policy we would pursue in the future, and I think I have told him that very clearly.

I have told him the result of these people going from this convention; that it would be the height of folly to compel them to do any such a thing. But I make this concession, that we don't want these two men to meet here as Knights of Labor. We ask that they meet as miners, not as Knights of Labor. When we have agreed amongst ourselves, what difference does it make to anybody else? I don't ask whether the operators are members of the syndicate, or the Ohio exchange, or the Pittsburg association, but I meet them as operators, and all we ask is that they meet us as miners. (Applause.)

Colonel Yeoman, in response, reiterated his former position regarding the course pursued by the Knights of Labor, and after a colloquy of words, in which the colonel, William T. Lewis, Daniel McLaughlin and others participated, John McBride addressed the chair and spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that the operators from the State of Indiana are endeavoring to adjust this case by starting at the wrong end of it. The brief explanation of Brother Lewis has probably not been of sufficient importance to enable you to realize the position we occupy as miners. It is true, as Brother Lewis has stated, that the organization of the Knights of Labor started some eighteen years ago. I believe that the officials who are at the head of the federation of miners today were loyal members of that organization for eleven or fourteen years. That organization we had hoped would be the means of bringing the members of our craft

into that solid body that would have enabled us to act in concert with equity on matters of importance to us as miners. We failed to secure the power that we had expected in that organization up until the fall of 1885. In September, 1885, the federation of miners was established in the city of Indianapolis, Indiana. It was established by reason of miners belonging to the Knights of Labor. It consisted of miners who belonged to the Knights of Labor, miners who belonged to no organization, miners who belonged to State associations formed by and through themselves, conducted independent of the Knights of Labor, who have responded to the call sent out by the secretary, by sending delegates to this convention. It is called a federation, and why? Why not call them an association? Why not call them a union? Simply because the miners' federation was organized by reason of a federative movement of the different organized body of miners, independent of the fact that they belonged to the Knights of Labor, the Ohio Amalgamated Association, or the Pennsylvania Association of Miners, or the Illinois Protective and Benevolent Association. It was a combination of existing organizations of miners for the purpose of securing a channel through which we could compete with and secure the co-operation of our forces. Immediately after the organization of the miners' federation the miners—or the Knights of Labor—called a convention of delegates from all the local assemblies of miners belonging that body of the Knights of Labor. They assembled in the city of St. Louis, in May, 1886, some months after the federation had been established, and then and there instituted what is known as National District No. 135 of the Knights of Labor, composed largely of miners and mine laborers. This gave to the miners two national organizations of miners. Had this move been made by the Knights one year sooner than it was, there would have been no federation of miners at all. The very fact that we failed to secure the adoption of this method sooner led to the establishment of the federation. The federation, after organizing itself extended an invitation to the mine operators of the United States to meet with them for the purpose of adopting methods similar to those which have governed us for the last two years. I am free to say that had the officers of the Knights of Labor—had they been Knights of Labor instead of being members of the federation—they would have extended the same invitation to the mine operators for the purpose of extending this movement and instituting these methods. Now, before this organization was seeking to control our forces, it was a family quarrel that was the means of keeping the wages of the miners down for the last two years, because had our forces

been in a position, or had they been united or in a position to insist on what was right, there would have been no conditional scale last year, but you would have paid 10 cents willingly, and done it at the start. This, I say, has kept the miners' wages down. We have suffered as well as you. Now, in our last convention there were representatives of the miners from other organizations. We have attempted to carry out the last year's scale. In western Pennsylvania the Knights of Labor have had control. I believe the operators of western Pennsylvania will say that the scale condition in the Pittsburgh railroad mines has been as well observed as it has been in the other sections of these competitive districts. There are spots probably where they don't control. There are sections in Ohio and Indiana which we don't control, and which both forces don't control. I say if this system is right, gentlemen, that anything that will add to it or guarantee its support ought to be hailed with delight and joy by the operators as well as the miners. Now, gentlemen, the Knights of Labor and our association have agreed. Let me read. They are agreed as follows:

"That the system of fixing scale rates by joint convention, by miners and operators, shall be continued."

The Knights of Labor are pledged to that as well as the federation. That ought to be satisfactory to those who believe in this system. Now the second is:

"Arbitration and conciliation shall be dominant factors in adjusting difficulties, and only when these shall be refused by operators shall strikes be resorted to, and then only as a final resort for recognition and justice to our craft."

Do you complain of that?

A Delegate—I for one complain that the Knights of Labor never live up to their constitution.

Mr. McBride—Now this is the basis of the agreement as both parties seek to carry it out.

There may have been objections raised by miners or operators that the Knights of Labor have not done their duty in the past. There may be objections that the federation has not done its duty; but we are here for the purpose of removing these objections. We have come here to unite our forces on a system; not your forces, but ours. (Applause.) While I believe in the federation, I believe that the federation of our forces will give us greater power than we have had if we remained alone, and that power will be for good if this scale is lived up to. (Applause.) I asked the operators of Indiana to come into this movement. I asked them to come in to treat with miners, to treat with no one else but miners. The conditions are laid down in this agreement. If we violate our

pledges to be relieved from our obligations, you can then sink or swim in your own boat. That is all that you or we desire. Now I know I have had propositions from operators in which they stated that we have not done our duty. I say to you here that we have not done what we had hoped for. The Knights of Labor have not done what we had expected or hoped for. They claim the same on their side. Now let us sink our differences in the past year, and let us make the incoming year the most successful one that we have ever had in connection with mining. (Applause.)

Colonel Yeoman—I want to know whether or not National District No. 135 is an independent organization of miners, and not subject to or owing allegiance to a higher power over and above it.

Mr. Lewis—District No. 135 is a distinct miners' district, and has absolute control without any interference in any way, shape or form.

Colonel Yeoman—Does Mr. Lewis, on the part of District No. 135, indorse and corroborate all that Mr. McBride has said?

Mr. Lewis — The only difference between Mr. McBride's statement and mine was that he put his in his words and I put it in mine. If he will indorse what I said I will indorse what he said, because it was the same thing only said in different ways.

Colonel Yeoman—The answer you have given is not satisfactory.

Mr. Lewis (to Mr. McBride)—Is the statement I made correct?

Mr. McBride—Yes, sir; ostensibly. Is the statement I made correct?

Mr. Lewis—The statement Mr. McBride made is correct. (Tremendous applause.)

The question being asked as to what was before the house, the chairman said:

The disposition of the report of the committee on credentials. They have presented their report with three names on which they have made no recommendation. That is before the convention.

Colonel Yeoman—I move that the two miners who brought to this convention Knights of Labor credentials be admitted to the counsels of this convention as miners.

Motion carried.

Mr. Sherrard—As the report of the committee on credentials was only received before, I move its adoption.

Motion carried.

On request the secretary read the names of Illinois delegation of miners as follows: Daniel McLaughlin, Braidwood; P. H. Donnelly, Springfield; David Ross Oglesby; William Long, Spring Valley; T. H. Dougherty, DuQuoin; William Purdy, Gardner; John Owens, Canton; Albert Cook, Braidwood; John Sermouth, Barclay; Henry Carroll, Clark City.

An arrangement having been made for an excursion for the delegates Wednesday morning, Mr. Robbins moved an adjournment to 3 o'clock the following afternoon. Motion carried.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION.

Convention called to order at 4 o'clock by Chairman Dempster.

Mr. Glew—I will ask the secretary to read this resolution:

“Resolved, That this convention appreciates the hospitality shown it by the Pittsburg operators, the Seventh Avenue, Monongahela, Hotel Boyer, Hotel Anderson, New St. Charles and Duquesne hotels, the Albemarle and Central hotels, in the delightful excursion given the members of this convention, and that this body hereby tenders a vote of thanks for the same.”

Unanimously adopted.

The Chairman—The next business is the formation of State and interstate boards of arbitration and conciliation.

Mr. Robbins—I move that the interstate board be selected by the miners and operators of the different States, and that the State boards be selected in the same manner, not necessarily in this convention, but that the members of the interstate board be now selected and acted upon by this convention; but that the selection of the State boards be not necessarily brought before this convention. That is, two operators and two miners on each board.

Motion carried.

The roll being called, the following nominations were made by the different States entitled to representation on the interstate board of arbitration and conciliation: Indiana, D. J. Jenne and J. C. Townsend for operators, James Cantwell and P. H. Penna for miners; Ohio, Oscar Townsend and H. L. Chapman for operators, John McBride and W. T. Lewis for miners; Pennsylvania, John Blythe and George Schluderberg for operators, John D. Conway and Patrick McBryde for miners.

Colonel Yeoman—I move that the nominations close and that the gentlemen whose names have been presented by the different States be elected as members of the interstate board.

Motion carried.

The Chairman—The next item of business is the consideration of the report of the scale committee, fixing the scale of prices for the ensuing year.

Secretary Evans—Mr. Chairman, the following is the report of the committee on scale prices:

Committee met in association rooms on February 8, 1888, and organized by electing D. J. Jenne president and Chris Evans secretary.

Read names of operators present, which was the same as the list of members placed on that committee at the morning session of yesterday.

Moved by Mr. Morton that the scale of prices for the ensuing year, commencing with April 1, 1888, and ending April 1, 1889, be as follows:

Hocking -----	60 cents.
Pittsburg district -----	69 cents.
Reynoldsville and Fairmont -----	65 cents.
Indiana block -----	80 cents.
Indiana bituminous -----	65 cents.

Resolution on scale basis adopted.

Moved by Mr. McBride that the scale of prices for the ensuing year be 10 cents above the base scale adopted by the committee.

Motion lost.

Moved by Mr. Morton that the scale prices for the ensuing year be the same as the base scale adopted by the committee.

Motion lost.

Moved that the secretary report to the convention the result of our conclusions.

D. J. JENNE, Chairman.

CHRIS EVANS, Secretary.

Mr. McCreery—I move that the report be received and filed.

Motion carried.

Colonel Yeoman—I move the adoption of the report of the committee.

Mr. Murdock—I understand from the report of the committee that it can not be received because they have disagreed, and for that reason it can not be received and approved.

Colonel Yeoman—The committee agreed upon a base scale and disagreed upon the scale to be adopted to govern mining during the coming year, but the base scale was acted on in the committee. We adopted that part of the report relating to the base scale. Without discharging the committee, the rest can be referred by the convention back to that committee again and we will then have it in such shape so as to understand our positions thoroughly.

Motion carried; report adopted.

Mr. Cantwell—I tender my resignation to this convention as a member of the interstate board elected by the State of Indiana.

The Chair — There is another matter before the house. This scale question must be disposed of first. I don't know that there is any provision made for resignations, but I think the interstate board has authority in that matter. The scale question is now under consideration and will be the order of business until it is disposed of.

Colonel Yeoman—In order to draw the fire of the convention upon this question, I move that the base scale be fixed as the uniform scale for mining from May 1, 1888, till May 1, 1889.

Mr. Tollet—Do I understand by the motion that it makes a reduction from the last year's scale of prices?

Colonel Yeoman—That is what the motion means.

The Chairman—The motion is that the scale adopted as the base scale shall be the paying scale for the coming year.

Mr. McBride—In accordance with the findings of the miners, I move you to amend the proposition by saying that there should be an advance of 10 cents per ton over and above the scale basis as agreed upon.

The volume of words that followed the introduction of this motion and amendment carried out in full the desire of Colonel Yeoman when he said he made the motion in order to draw the fire of the convention upon this question.

The sparks of oratory that flew from both sides filled the air at times with fumes rather hard to quench. Mr. Ingles, operator from Indiana, said that southern Indiana operators could not afford to pay the 10 cents advance over the base rates. P. H. Penna, miner, in a lengthy speech argued strongly in favor of the amendment for 10 cents advance. Colonel Yeoman said:

The reason that the Indiana operators are in favor of the price named in my motion and are opposed to the amendment offered by Mr. McBride is that we have to compete in Indiana with the Illinois coal as a direct competitor; that they ought not be compelled to pay higher prices than they pay in Illinois; that it was harder on the Fourth district operators than it was in central Indiana because of the larger difference in railroad rates.

John McBride explained his reason for presenting the amendment as follows:

In moving to add 10 cents per ton to the present scale basis, or the scale basis adopted by this convention, understand that the scale basis that you have adopted is 10 cents per ton below the present rates, and the amendment submitted by me is the present rate that is being paid in Indiana, Ohio and western Pennsylvania. The miners are but asking for a continuation of the present rates. It must be apparent, Mr. Chairman, to you and to all other members of this convention that by making a comparison of the relative rates of mining between the different sections of this competitive district, the difference between Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and western Pennsylvania is not so great under present differences as it was previous to the time of the great Hocking valley strike in 1884 and 1885. Neither is it true that the miners have secured no advance in the State of Illinois.

In a lengthy argument in which Mr. McBride produced statistics to prove the position he took in maintaining the present rate, he closed his remarks with the following statement:

I say, gentlemen, that when we entered this movement it was for the purpose of paying living wages by the operators to their miners, and for the purpose of securing paying prices by the miners for the operators. We have made a long and honest struggle to fulfill the conditions named in that scale, because the responsibility rests entirely on our shoulders, and I say that the condition of northern Illinois miners today is better by 10 cents per ton than it was one year ago when we assembled in convention, and I challenge contradiction, taking the difference in the screens.

The miners have decided to ask for a continuance of present rates. They have done so after very thoroughly canvassing the different districts and considering their conditions. They have done so after going through the entire mining district, and after having done all that I believe they can honestly

and consistently and fairly do by asking a continuation of present rates.

No more could I state as to the position of the miners. They can speak for themselves, but let me say to you that in my judgment, while temporary hardships may be worked by reason of an increase of shipping facilities in some localities, although some changes in the markets might make new hardships, I don't think that the new elements coming into the coal trade, taken into consideration with all the other circumstances, can justify the demand on the part of the operators for a reduction—considering all the facts in the premises. (Applause.)

After a few remarks from Colonel Yeoman, in which he said he wanted to hear from Pennsylvania and Ohio, John Kane spoke as follows:

The operators of Indiana plead that they are unable to pay present prices. Now I am here from Indiana with instructions to ask for an advance, and I am also here with a knowledge that the Indiana operators are able to buy farms—acres of lands to begin new mines—and also pay printers for printing ironclad agreements, which they present to their miners to sign, and at the same time live in opulence themselves. I think they have no right to ask the miners to do without the necessities of life. (Applause.)

The prolonged discussion that followed, participated in by Colonel Yeoman, John McBride, Morris Gray, P. H. Penna, G. C. Richards and Horrace Chapman, covering the various phases of the situation, was interesting and voluminous, ending with a motion to adjourn, by Frank Robbins, until 7:30 p. m. Motion carried.

WEDNESDAY EVENING SESSION.

Convention called to order at 7:30 p. m. by Chairman Dempster.

The Chairman—The question of scale is now open for remarks, gentlemen.

Mr. Townsend—I am not going to say much and I will not detain you but a moment, but as one who has been honored by this interstate convention, as a member of the interstate board, I can not let pass the gentleman's statement from Ohio on the miners' side of the question without calling your attention to some facts. The scale was adopted for Illinois by members from northern Illinois only being present. Southern

Illinois repudiated that scale and did not comply with it. The miners called us together and asked us to grant a 5 cents advance, so that the amalgamated association might be strengthened in southern Illinois by their efforts. That was granted. Northern Illinois and the interstate committee co-operated with that, but the operators were soon able in that section to contract with their men at 1886 prices, and that is the rate at which the men are working today. John McBride tells us that the screens have been changed in Illinois. I have inquired and I am informed that not a screen in the northern district of Illinois has been changed. I am advised that the production in Illinois, in 1887, was over one million three hundred thousand tons greater than in 1886. It don't answer for us to pretend that it is not increasing.

We granted the 5 cents asked by the interstate board in November. The resolution was prepared by the miners themselves. Mr. McBride declares that the provisions of that agreement have not been complied with, but for the interest of harmony, upon the assurance that they would bring up southern Illinois, it was granted, and on the floor of the meeting they thanked us for our magnanimity, because it cost the operators of western Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana a million and a half of dollars. They now tell us that northern Illinois operators were all right, but the scale was all wrong, but when they were asking us to give this it was a mistake. We should not have advanced it because Illinois was relatively wrong in the original arrangement. The price fixed by Illinois itself in the second annual convention, and by the interstate board's co-operation, was carried out until this new controversy took place. With this new conversion I would like to hear from the gentlemen.

Mr. Robbins—On behalf of Pennsylvania I shall attempt to state our position very briefly, and I hope correctly. Three years ago in the western district of Pennsylvania natural gas took away 3,000,000 tons of coal per year. The coal trade of western Pennsylvania was paralyzed. We were completely stunned. We attempted to take a survey of the position, only to see that our interests were to be completely shut out. We looked at the north and found the Reynoldsville district mined coal for less than we could, being put into the northern market for less money per ton freight. We turned to the south and we found the river against us, that prevented all the railroad miners of this district from competing with those who supplied the southern market. We turned to the eastern market and found exactly the same position as that which existed concerning the northern market. We then turned to the West and found that the Illinois coal was being sold at \$2

per ton. Our freight to Chicago was \$2.25. We were practically hemmed in. By great effort, however, by perseverance, by placing coal below cost, we went into the markets of the northwest and attempted to find there a market for our product. It has been stated here, gentlemen, that you don't ask for an advance. I say that you most emphatically do. You have already. The amendment here offered has asked for an advance. We paid from the first of May until the first of October 74 cents per ton for mining. On the first day of December our markets ceased. The coal that we put into the market during the month of November was put in at prices based on 74 cents. Because of the action of the interstate board we have paid 79 cents for mining that very coal. Now, gentlemen, in the face of the depression of business; in the face of the reduction of from \$3 to \$4 a ton in the price of pig metal; in the face of the reduction of from 25 to 50 cents per ton on coke; in the face of the reduction of price on manufactured iron, and on all labor connected with the manufacture of iron, to introduce a resolution here in the face of these facts, when the interest of trade demands a reduction in the price of mining—an amendment which provides for an advance is certainly wrong. Now, gentlemen, I know there is some mistake in taking this view of the question. I am sure that your interests, gentlemen miners, are ours. I wish to say here that, so far as I myself am concerned, I am in favor of organized labor, and if you attempt to profit by that organization—as you certainly must—the only way you can stand is to stand on a fair and equitable scale. If you attempt to bar out something that would not be equitable, you fall yourselves, and you compel us to fall with you. You take away from us our markets. You deprive our miners and their families from support the same as you deprive us of an interest from our investment. Now it is utterly and absolutely impossible—I say it in truth, I say it because I know it—it is utterly and absolutely impossible for Pennsylvania to accept the proposition that this amendment provides for. We could not, in justice to our interests, in justice to the interests of our coal miners, in justice, in equity, in fairness, considering the business depressions of the country, we could not accept it. I don't know that you miners would ask us to.

Mr. Morton—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, it would be a very much more pleasing position of the operators of western Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana to be enabled to step forward at a convention like this and say to the miners that we would gladly pay them what they ask; we would gladly pay them more than they ask, and if circumstances permitted we would do it today. Now, gentlemen, those who know us in Sunday

Creek—Mr. McBride and several others—know our position there. We have always endeavored to pay the highest prices that circumstances would allow us. We will not attempt to drive down the price of labor. (Applause.) On the other hand, as we have done in the past, we will try and support it and maintain it up to its highest standard. Circumstances are against us, and I don't see why you should ask us for an advance. I picked up a Pittsburg paper this evening and upon glancing over its columns I found the following:

"The outlook of the blast furnaces is not encouraging. Unless some of the furnaces are banked up the stock will be larger than seen here for years. At the close of January, 1887, there was only about 15,000 tons of pig metal around the furnaces. Few of the pig iron manufacturers are buying only what they immediately have use for. Last month 15,000 tons less were made here than in December. The indications are that the output this month will not be over that of January."

Several items in the iron and steel column here are of a similar character. Now, I know that similar conditions exist elsewhere in the country. I know that the railroads are carrying less today than they carried last year. What does that argue? That we are going to have less coal in use. The figures handed to me just before supper time of the production of coal in Illinois for the past year are as follows: The total output for the State of Illinois for the year 1886, 9,226,000 tons; 1887, 10,278,000 tons. An increase of 1,032,000 tons compared with the previous year. Of that increase 360,000 tons were from the Braidwood district. The output from the State of Ohio for the past year was only 400,000 tons more than the preceding year. Now, comparing the two set of figures, and what deduction do we draw from them? Would you say that the scale of Illinois on its present basis is in a condition for us to compete with? Do you think we could compete with it for the coming year? I think not. Then again, take it through the States of Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana, the natural gas has taken the place of a very large amount of coal; you know that. This is going to be felt more the coming year than in the past. Where is there going to be a market for the Hocking valley coal? Certainly not from any increase in Ohio or Indiana or Pennsylvania. The increase in this country must come through the lakes in the north and from the northwestern territories, and necessarily through the railroads that lead to that region. As we have to compete with that scale the prices in Illinois remain the same, outside of this federation. They are not required to live up to these prices. They don't do it. What will enable us to place our

production on the lakes? Will it be this increase of 5 cents per ton over last year? No, sir. While there is an increase of 600,000 tons in the State of Illinois over the State of Ohio, do you think the advance in the price of mining will enable us to increase our tonnage, or at least increase our tonnage in that region? I think not. I think if we should adopt that scale we would hear you saying to us at the end of the year, "We made a mistake. Our work has been taken away from us by these parties in the northwest." I know today that railroads are taking the Illinois coal that were taking our coal some two or three months ago, simply because it is cheaper. The Illinois operators can furnish it cheaper.

Now, should we increase the price of mining? There is one thing that is very deceiving to most people who read the newspapers in regard to the prices of coal sold in the various markets. You take the quotations of coal in any of the daily newspapers and ascertain what price coal sold for in Chicago; it states the present market price. I think the operators will bear me out when I say that between 60 and 70 per cent of the bituminous coal that is produced in the States of Ohio and Pennsylvania is used for steam purposes.

A Delegate—Include Indiana, too.

Mr. Morton—And Indiana, too; and the contracts made in the beginning of the year run throughout the year, and those prices quoted in these newspapers are often 25 per cent off the track. Take our lake shipments. I tell you that for the several years I have been connected with the coal business that they would foot up to an actual loss at the end of the season. We make these contracts because we wish to keep our mines running, and keep our miners supplied with work; to keep us from sustaining probably a greater loss than we would have to sustain were they lying idle. Now, if we would pay this advance, taking these figures that stare us in the face, do you think we can afford to keep our mines running on the advance? I think we would have to shut them up and suffer the loss. It would exclude us from going into the northwestern market. When we place our coal on the docks in the Northwest we have to compete with Illinois fuel brought from the mines that send coal over all the lines of railroad leading from there and from Duluth who have but one single rate of freight to pay from their mines to the coal's destination. I tell you, gentlemen, that if you insist on this advance, that instead of the work you got last season you won't get within 50 per cent of the amount of the work you got last year. These are facts that stare us in the face. The condition of the operators says to you that instead of advancing we have to recede in order to maintain our position and maintain work

for you. As I said before, it is very unpleasant for us to do this, but it is necessary. Whether it is better for you to mine coal for five or six days in the week, or mine it three days in the week at the prices you ask in this advance, you know better than we. Now, I want to ask the question, if this federation is equal to the emergency? Can this convention of operators and miners adapt themselves to the depressed market as well as to the market that is advancing and growing larger? Can an arrangement be made with you? can it be carried out to the satisfaction of the men? I am satisfied, gentlemen, that what I know of you in coming in contact with you and your association with these operators from time to time, and from your average general intelligence, that you understand the situation thoroughly. Does the constituency you represent understand it as well? If they did they would not say if you don't get so much we will not work. They don't understand it as well as you, though, gentlemen. If they did they would say, "We must get the most work at the best prices."

Mr. Chapman—I desire to add one word to the speech of Mr. Morton. I think it is the question that every gentleman here, be he miner, or operator, or otherwise, should look at. On looking over the condition of things one year ago today I find that contracts had been made for 350,000 tons of steel rails in this country. Up to the present writing, according to the report, only 30,000 tons of steel rails have been contracted for at a reduction of \$3.50 per ton as compared with the price of one year ago. One year ago today millions of tons of ore had been contracted for to be delivered in the different parts of the country. Today nothing has been contracted for to amount to anything. One year ago today nearly all the tonnage that floats on the lakes was contracted for, and today not one contract has been made up to the present writing. Last year over twelve thousand miles of railway were built in this country—the largest amount of mileage that was ever built in any one year in America. From the reports and from the calculations of men who make it a business to keep informed in these matters, the estimate for this year of 1888 is not to exceed 33 per cent of the railroad building of last year. Now, I ask you in fairness, whether you are miner or operator, what does that indicate for the coming year? Gentlemen who are engaged in this business started out early in the year making their basis and contracts for their future business. What state of facts and conditions of things does that present to the mine operators and to the miners themselves? It has truly been stated by Mr. Morton that from 60 to 70 per cent of the soft coal in this country goes into

steam, supplying railways and for manufacturing purposes, and it is truthfully said that a large amount of the coal is actually sold at cost or below cost in order to keep the mines of this country in operation and the miners in employment. Why is this? Every gentleman who owns a mine and every gentleman who works in a mine knows that the success of a mine as a plant consists largely in its being kept in continuous operation and not allowed to fill up with water or anything of that kind, and that if it is not kept running it costs a large sum of money to put that plant in such condition as the operator would desire to have it in order to work it properly. This is another question that stares us in the face, gentlemen. Since the inception of the organization of this institution I have been among the active members of the organization, and Mr. McBride and Mr. McLaughlin know that I have been one of the operators who is willing to make concessions and pay the last cent that we could pay and live, and I am willing to do that still when the question comes up. But as the case presents itself to us squarely and honestly, can we pay the prices that we have been paying since the first of May? Taking the condition of things as they appear, we must answer, no.

Can we enter into a new arrangement to run from the first day of May next for one year? I think I voice the sentiment of the Ohio, Indiana and Pennsylvania operators when I say that the time has come when one stroke will break the camel's back. I think that is their feeling. We have gone as far as it is possible for us to go. Mr. Morton has well said that the time has arrived when the question of retrograding in this movement as to price is to be met by the miners squarely in the face. We have gone forward and, as Mr. Townsend and Mr. McBride said that the operators had acted magnanimously and had gone further than could be expected under the circumstances, the time has come when we must go in another direction. That is all I desire to add, gentlemen.

Mr. Sherrard—I wish to say a word on this question. I think we are here to see what the miners can get and also to see what the operators can do. I am from Ohio, where mines are 226 feet down in the earth, and I can give you some of the facts, and as there are representatives here from the miners who work in that shaft, if I should make a misstatement I shall be pleased to stand corrected, as they know the facts as well as I and probably better. For the past year we have been operating under the scale fixed at Columbus. We willingly agreed to that scale and have carried it out, up until the present time, religiously. We pay our men in money and not in orders. (Applause.) We have run the same mines from

1851, and I presume today that we take out probably two thousand bushels of coal, and at the end of every ten days the miners get paid in cash 75 cents per ton whether the coal, when sold, has paid that or not, and I can say to you that in several months of this year just past, from January, 1887, to January, 1888, the money came out of the treasury and went to pay the miner what he had earned whether the coal was sold or not. We are going to carry it on until the first day of May, under the scale fixed in January one year ago. But on the first day of May we propose to make a new deal, and if this convention don't assist us in doing that we have to do one of three things: We will have either to abide by the decision of the convention, or withdraw from the convention, or close our mines. One of these three things must be done. Well, you may say, "Well, you are not going to shut down your mines." Now, I say in candor and I think the representatives from our own mine will do me the justice to say that what I say at home is generally believed; I say to you, and the partner I have in the mines is sitting by my side, and I know he will acquiesce in what I will say, that if we have to dig in that mine on the prices here asked in this resolution, or if we have to pay the scale rate that we are now paying, the mine will shut down. Now, let me give you the reason. Now, from the first day of January, 1887, we mined out 2,984 tons up until the first of January, 1888. The year previous we mined out 6,811 tons. Now that is the difference. Why is that? First we have natural gas to compete with. There is not in a town of a population there amounting to 15,000 people in which there is considerable manufacturing done—not one pound of coal burned, and we have two large rolling mills, four glass works, a large pottery, a pot works and a water works and other boilers that are run for manufacturing purposes in a small way—but we have not one single boiler in that whole town today that is run by a single pound of coal, and there has not been an ounce of coal ashes taken from under a boiler in that town since the first day of December, 1887. I told you that we had a population of about fifteen thousand. There are of houses, dwellings and mansions heated with natural gas about fifteen hundred, or at least thirteen hundred. It leaves the balance of the smaller houses in which we continue to sell some coal. It leaves a railroad that we supply with about sixty tons per day to run their engines, and that is all the means we have of getting rid of our coal. You might say, why don't you go out into the market and sell your coal? There is a young man [pointing to one of the operators] that has traveled over the country for the purpose of finding a place to sell our coal. When he arrived in Chicago

he found that coal from the Braidwood district was furnished to the citizens and the manufacturers at the rate of \$2 per ton.

Colonel Rend—Not quite that low—\$2.25.

Mr. Sherrard—Well, I can prove on this floor tonight that it sells for \$2 a ton. On application to the railroad we found that the P., C. & St. L. was the only road that could sell our coal, or carry it to Chicago, but we found that the only rate we could get was \$2.25 freight. Now, our coal was a great deal better coal, but we can not come in competition with Illinois coal for the reason that they have so short a haul. I venture to assert that from Braidwood, which is only about fifty-five miles from Chicago, that they are not paying over 45 or 50 cents per ton for the delivery of that coal into Chicago.

A Delegate—Forty cents.

Mr. Sherrard—Very well, sir; so much the better. Therefore, while they are paying a fair rate to the miners of that district, as I believe they are—they are paying ninety-five cents to the miners with a three-quarter inch screen—they pay 95 cents per ton for mining that coal, anyhow. That is a fair rate, and I think the miners can make as good wages there as they can make in Ohio or Indiana, or Pennsylvania at the rate they pay, but there is a fact in our face that when we go to find a market for our coal the rates of freight are against us. We are on the eastern side of Ohio. We have to pass through three States to get to Illinois. Therefore why not adapt ourselves to our present position? We are praying that natural gas will give out. But until it does give out we shall have to accept the situation. That is just why, as I have stated, we are powerless to aid our men. A year and a half ago our mines were being worked by one hundred and twenty-five or a hundred and thirty-five men, while today we have not more than forty miners, and they only get a half-day's work. Now you can see the situation that we are in. The situation we are in that I have stated is just exactly the situation of the other mines in our locality. There is a gentleman sitting there that represents one of the mines. He has not furnished other than his local trade a single carload of coal in the last year. I say as a fact, that while we would be very anxious to ship outside of the town of Steubenville, we have not shipped one carload of coal in the past year because the freights are against us; because the Braidwood mines are so near the market that the rates of freight don't eat them up as they do us. Now, in view of those facts what is the duty of the miners, if you please, to help us out of the dilemma and the condition of things that we are in? It is not in accordance with the

amendment that the miners will either help the operator or help himself, as it would cause the mines to be closed up by reason of the inability of the operators to pay such a price. I say to you that while we have to speak to the amendment to add 10 cents per ton, yet I apprehend that there were not ten men in this convention that believe that 10 per cent should be added, but on the contrary that it should be taken off. There may be mines in Pennsylvania and Ohio and central Ohio that can work and pay those prices that they are paying today. There may be mines in the State of Pennsylvania that could run and pay the scale, but I say to you from my knowledge of the mines in Ohio, and the mines of western Pennsylvania, there are but three mine owners in western Pennsylvania that could afford from the first day of May, 1888, to pay the price that is now fixed from November to the first day of May of this year. I know of about three. I believe that there are three that could exist and probably hold their own without making any profit. I know of three in Washington county. I am speaking now of Washington county. I am not informed outside of that. Unless you are willing to come down below the price that was fixed in January, 1887, at the Columbus convention, I say to you that you will close seven-tenths of the mines in western Pennsylvania. I know you will close one-half of them in Ohio.

Now, the statement was made that a year ago, or during the past year, about twelve thousand miles of railroad were built. That is true. If any of you will take the *Railroad Age*—and I think it is in the interest of neither operators nor miners, it may be in the interest of the railroads—but if you will take the *Railroad Age* of the 1st of January of last year you will see that up until that time contracts had been made for the building of 9,000 of the 12,000 miles of railroad that were built during last year. If you have read the *Railroad Age* of the 1st of February of this year you will see that but 188 miles have been contracted for. But 188 miles, remember; not 1,088 miles, but 188 miles, as the *Railroad Age* tells you have been contracted for, in 1888. Now, I don't say that that is all that will be built, but I know that that is a fact, that that is all that has been contracted for. Up until the first day of January the railroads—I mean up until the first day of February—the railroads, who have to have iron and steel, have refused to contract for steel rails over \$30 per ton. The mill owners refuse to sell for that, and there are probably some of them here tonight who hear me and know that what I say is a fact. I am not interested in iron. I don't know what some of the men here will do if there are any, but I am inclined to believe that they would be willing to contract for

\$32.50 a ton; but, gentlemen, one year ago they would have been unwilling to contract for less than \$37 a ton. You take the furnaces all over this country and what is the condition during the last few months? A gentleman said today that they wanted to wait until this convention was over. I tell you the stopping of the furnaces is because there is no demand for their iron or steel, and the mills at Wheeling have been stultified for the last two months. The furnaces in our own town are banked up. Therefore our demands for coal in that direction, made out of the slack, is cut off and the slack is thrown back, as the miners says, into the "gob." That is our only source of making anything other than paying the laborers in our mines. Now, as the facts are before you, why not concede it as for your interest, as well as for the interest of all concerned, that you will consider this question well before you take any other steps, whether or not it would be wise for you to agree to some scale that the operators can afford to pay. I say to you again, that they can not pay the prices they are paying you today longer than the 1st of May. I am sorry that it is no use talking about Mr. McBride's amendment. We have natural gas. It is here for a time, how long we don't know, any of us. But while we have to contend against it I say that it is the duty of the miners to meet the emergency, and that it is the duty of the operator to pay as much as he can afford to pay: but it is the duty of the miners not to expect that the operators can pay more than the running of his mines will permit. I state here the facts, gentlemen. I state as a fact that for the last year, or at least the last six months, that if any man had offered or will offer to run the works that we have managed since 1851, as well as we could, if any man will agree to take the work off our hands—we have any quantity of coal to be mined out—and if any man or set of men will agree to take a lease and keep our present superintendent, you can have the lease of our works if you will pay a royalty of one-fourth of a cent for each bushel of coal taken out. Therefore we are not making a large profit. It would be much better for our children if the mine was closed until natural gas gave out, whenever that will be, and the time will come when it will. (Applause.) It is not inexhaustible. It is being taken out pretty lively near the cities of Wheeling and Pittsburgh and down along the Ohio valley; but until it does give out don't expect the last cent. We can't stand it.

Mr. Chapman—At the request of a gentleman from Illinois, I desire to make a correction, that nobody may be misled with reference to the question of the price of freight in Illinois. For coal that is sold at \$2 per ton is 30 per cent, which would be 60 cents. For all through coal which is re-

billed, the freight is 40 cents. I say this that there may be no erroneous ideas.

Mr. Lewis—The point made by the gentleman who last spoke and the last point he attempted to make would appear to convey a general statement from the arguments on this side of the house. I might say, however, that a mine that has been in operation since 1851 is not in a very profitable condition to run at the present time. The life of an ordinary coal mine does not generally run over thirty-five or thirty-six years, before it becomes like a man well on in years. So much for that. (Applause.) We have arrived at a time when men who sell their labor and men who buy that labor—and men who have come here to agree on some price for the coming year—and we have arrived at a time when no amount of rhetoric will win our hearts. A hard, cold statement of facts as they exist must be met by business men, and that alone is going to win the cause for one side or the other. We ask no more, and I don't believe it is the intention of the miners—or they would not with very good grace—receive anything very much less. (Applause.) The general feeling among the miners, as far as I have gone, the general instructions that they have given to their delegates to this convention, would have been to ask the operators for an advance of 5 cents per ton on last year's scale. They have been advised not to do this by those who had charge of the different organizations; the leaders of the different organizations have pleaded hard with their members to try and maintain only last year's scale, and that if we would do that for the present we would do just what was right between operators and miners.

Some of the miners—and I am going to speak pretty plainly—say it will be necessary for you to ask for an advance of 10 cents per ton in order that you may split the difference with the operators and take 5. I don't think it is the intention of the gentleman who has offered the resolution for 10 cents per ton; I don't believe it is his intention to carry that out at all. They merely asked for 10 cents per ton in order that we might arbitrate harmoniously and take 5 cents. I believe the miners should be represented in this convention, and we have come. We have come offering you what we think is right and honest, what we think we ought to receive, and I think we have presented our case in a correct, clear way. When I come here in the face of the facts which I shall bring before you, and found a proposition for a reduction on last year's scale of 10 cents per ton, I scarcely knew what to think of it. There are about three defenses. First, the natural gas displacing coal; second, the depressed condition of the iron market; and third, the competition which operators of Ohio,

Indiana and Pennsylvania have to meet from northern Illinois. These are the three defenses so far as they can be stated.

Regarding the first, we will answer it in this way: We have it from the mine inspector's record; we have it from the banker's memorial; from different readable authorities, that, notwithstanding the introduction of natural gas, it has been more than compensated by the outlet to the Northwest. The gentleman who last spoke has probably more trouble from the introduction of natural gas than any one of the other operators present. I think, as a general thing, you have found pretty good relief in the North and Northwest.

Regarding the second—the depressed condition of the iron market, and the probability that it will be in a depressed condition—I was very glad at the position Colonel Rend took yesterday, when he said: "It is material for us to pay a uniform rate of wages, and it is immaterial to us what those wages are so long as it is relatively fixed among the different States here present." That is the position taken not only by Colonel Rend, but by the miners in this convention, and the miners and operators together in the last convention. It made no difference so long as we based our prices on last year's scale. What we have to consider in fixing this scale is, that we have come in competition with each other. One question: "Is one coal mined cheaper than any other, thereby cutting out the coal that should be going into the market in competition with theirs?" Our friend from Ohio, Mr. Morton, pleaded for the sake of the iron industry; for the sake of the business interests of this country, that this scale be reduced 10 cents per ton, in order that the iron and other industries might go on uninterrupted. I am going to ask him and others: "Is 5 and 10 cents per ton from the miners' wages going to make the iron industry a great industry? Is the iron interest of this country going to be built up from the bone and sinew of those who mine coal in this country?" If so, then it needs more of the fostering care of the government than it has received for the last twenty-five or thirty years. (Applause.) It would appear to me that the present depression in the iron industry of this country is one peculiar to a combination of circumstances, over which we have no control. It is one of those conditions over which no one has control. They have come upon us in this convention. I ask you, gentlemen, is it fair to take advantage of this peculiar position or condition of the iron industry at this time, and ask us to come down 10 cents per ton, with the probability that the iron industry will be revived to its former standing? But back of all this, if the miners were asking for something unreasonable, something that would really affect the condition of the iron industry, if

we asked 50 cents or \$1 per ton, so as to affect the iron industry of the country, and that of other countries, then there would be good reason for complaint, and some reason why we should come down in order to compete with other countries; but we are not, we are competing with ourselves.

In competition with ourselves, what will 10 cents amount to in the iron industry? Not one ton of iron made more, not one ton of iron made less. They will not put down the price of iron 1 cent because they are getting coal 10 cents per ton less. If Indiana were mining for 10 cents per ton less than Pennsylvania, relatively, then the Indiana operators would be ahead. The Pennsylvania operators would say, we can't come in competition with Indiana, because they can take our trade in the iron industry and in the manufacture of iron, because they are paying 10 cents per ton less for mining the same coal. Such, however, is not the case, gentlemen. We only ask that a general advance be considered, and not one district over the other. If your position is fair throughout the different States, we do not ask for an advance. This whole question hinges solely on this—as to whether we shall maintain the last year's scale of prices. Are you right, relatively? Are the different districts right, relatively? Is Ohio right with Indiana? Is Indiana right with Illinois? Are they all right with Pennsylvania? If they are, then there is no necessity for cutting on the present rates from last year's rates. If they are not right relatively, and you have no control over one of these districts, then it is right that we should accept a reduction. A gentleman stated that Illinois had shipped into the Northwest 1,000,000 tons more than last year, but he forgot to mention the shipments relatively of the different States, and inasmuch as I have those increased shipments with me, I will give them to you.

The power to ship into any given market is measured by competition, and if the gentlemen from Ohio can ship into Chicago in excess this year of last year's shipments, then it is evident that their position with regard to Illinois is strengthened accordingly. If Indiana's shipments into that market this year exceed those of last year, why then their position is so much better with regard to that market than it was last year. That is fair. That is only a fair proposition, gentlemen, and it is a business proposition.

Now, then, for the nine months of this year, mark this, in the face of the fact that Illinois did not pay the first 5 cents advance on scale rates; in the face of the fact that they did not pay the 5 cents advance in November; in the face of all these facts that these gentlemen come here and take advantage of the States of Ohio, Indiana and Pennsylvania have

shipped more coal into those markets than they did the previous year. I will give you the shipments of the different States for one month of the year:

During September Ohio shipped in 1886, 57,000 tons, round numbers; in 1887, 68,000 tons, or an increase of 23 per cent.

Illinois shipped in 1886, 89,000 tons; in 1887, 100,000 tons, or 13 per cent of an increase.

Indiana shipped in 1886, 75,000 tons; in 1887, 100,000 tons, or 33 per cent of an increase.

Now, that is for one month—the month of September—and, by the way, almost one of the dullest months for receipts in the Chicago market for the whole year. For Ohio there is an increase in her shipments of 23 per cent more than that of the last year; that is for one month. Illinois has an increase of 13 per cent, and Indiana has an increase of 33 per cent. Pennsylvania shipped in the same relative proportion, although I could not get the exact figures.

Mr. De Armitt—Did Illinois ship more than a fair relative rate or share of her coal?

Mr. Lewis—Illinois 13 per cent over last year, and Indiana 33 per cent. That shows that Indiana's increase over that of Illinois was 20 per cent.

Colonel Yeoman—I would ask you this question. You have started out with your argument and carried it through up to this point as I consider fairly, and with an endeavor on your part to impress the audience with a sense of fairness and justice in dealing with this question. Do you know what occasioned the increase in the consumption or shipment of coal—Indiana coal—into Chicago, and the kind of coal?

Mr. Lewis—I am coming to that just now. I have given you the shipments and the relative increase for one month. You might say that that might be an exceptional month. Well, we will take nine months. Here is the aggregate for nine months. I am giving you the gross figures, so that any one can figure it out for himself:

Ohio shipped in 1886-----	372,000 tons, in round numbers.
Ohio shipped in 1887-----	510,000 tons, in round numbers.
Illinois shipped in 1886-----	769,000 tons, in round numbers.
Illinois shipped in 1887-----	956,000 tons, in round numbers.
Indiana shipped in 1886-----	489,000 tons, in round numbers.
Indiana shipped in 1887-----	812,000 tons, in round numbers.

Now the percentage of increase from Ohio for the nine months of the year is 33 per cent, without the fraction. The increased shipment from Illinois to the same market is 25 per cent, or in other words Illinois stands 8 per cent under Ohio in the same market.

The increase of Indiana for the nine months is 90 per cent in that same market, or an increase over the other of 56 per cent.

Now, these facts and figures, laying all sentiment and everything else aside, ought to be positive proof to this convention that the arguments advanced by the Indiana operators don't hold good. They have pursued a different course from that of Ohio, who have taken the decreased condition of the trade, and the Indiana men take the competition of Illinois. The operators hold two different points in view: one the decreased condition of the trade of which Ohio and Pennsylvania are complaining, and another, the Indiana operators are pursuing the argument on the line of Illinois competition. Now, if you were all complaining of one thing, gentlemen, we would have some cause for investigation. But you start out on the argument based on the depressed condition of the trade, and that, of course, is a sentimental argument more than anything else, from the fact that I have shown that Ohio and Indiana have better advantages than Illinois has, and as a consequence, your argument will not hold water.

If you mean just what you say, that as long as we are relatively right, that we don't care what we pay the miners, the case must be thoroughly understood; but if you say that your miners must bear the burden of the decrease of labor in connection with the iron industries or the depression of the iron trade, why then there is another question to be taken up and we should consider it in that sense, and it seems to me that the meaning of these boards of arbitration and conciliation would come to an end. I say that from the fact that the decline would send us down. There was an allusion made to the condition of trade and to the financial condition of the country. Do you know that the clearing house of this country for the month of January showed an increase over January of 1887 of 20 per cent according to the *Bankers' Magazine*. That ought to be another evidence of the prosperous condition of the business of this country. (Applause.) The business of the country is in good condition. Why bring that depressed condition of the iron industry of the country at the present time? (Applause.)

Colonel Yeoman—I think you misunderstood me or failed to answer my question. The question that I put was this: From what source in the State of Indiana did this coal come, and where, and in what manner, was this coal consumed?

Mr. Lewis—I thought I had answered it, but inasmuch as I have not I will say that in this convention if there are some who are so unfortunate as to have their minds in such a peculiar condition as to believe that they cannot ship into that

market, that is not the concern of this convention. (Applause.) We are dealing with whole States, and when we take those figures into account we don't take them from localities. There are miners here in western Pennsylvania that can not ship into that market, and the operators from Pennsylvania might ask me where the relative increase come from from Pennsylvania. We are not dealing with localities but with States in this convention, and whether the increased tonnage comes from southern or northern Indiana, it is immaterial to this convention. (Applause.)

Colonel Yeoman—There are two propositions laid down by Mr. Lewis in his argument, one of them I think fundamental and upon which in my judgment, if I am right, the whole construction of the argument upon which he has based his plea for the low prices, falls to the earth. It is the relative condition of the several States in regard to these prices that he claims that that position has been admitted upon our part. Now then, what are the facts? A year ago we were induced to enter into an agreement fixing a conditional scale of prices. It was the agreed fact at the time that the relative price upon the scale basis for which we argue tonight was relatively fair, as between Indiana, Illinois, Ohio and Pennsylvania. Now he said we did agree to that, and he is right, but when that agreement was made one year ago it was upon the base scale. Every 5 cents additional advance was to be made on certain conditions upon the relative price that was then considered fair. Indiana, Illinois, Ohio and Pennsylvania were given their respective scales.

At the end of a certain time the interstate board met at which the representatives of the miners stated that they had failed to bring Illinois up and maintain the relative prices, if we considered the advance in Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania, they made this plea to the operators of the board: "We have done our utmost; we have worked hard; we have worked faithfully and earnestly to bring Illinois up to the relative price, hence will you allow us the 5 cents advance?" They said further, "It is true we have not succeeded as far as we had expected, but if you will grant us the advance of 5 cents per ton, we will use our influence to bring the miners of the State of Illinois up to the relative advance you have made." This is the argument that induced the state or interstate board to grant the advance of 5 cents per ton. You placed us relatively in Indiana at 5 cents per ton disadvantage. Now, then, I am stating facts, facts that Mr. McBride can not deny: facts that Mr. Lewis can not deny. Now, I will ask so far as it relates to a question of competition, and has been stated by Mr. Lewis, that Mr. Rend has said, it does not matter so

much about the scale price if you keep up the relative prices between the States of the same markets and seek the same markets for the product. But you have let Illinois drop out, and we find Mr. McBride here as a friend of the State of Illinois for dropping out of this convention, while we have stood by it faithfully, honestly and continuously—I mean the States of Ohio, Pennsylvania and Indiana. Now, when it comes to a question of the increase of products that is going to the market of Chicago, and of the amount of the product that is to come from the State of Indiana, I did intend to ask Mr. Lewis that question, and they did ask it, and if he was informed he should have said so. He should have told the convention so. The coal, let me say, that went into that market was not bituminous. Bituminous coal has not gone from Indiana into that market. The whole amount of bituminous coal from Indiana that has gone into the Chicago market will not amount to 50,000 tons during the whole year. This block coal that the rolling mills about Chicago have to have took some of the tonnage. Now that block coal, in so far as it relates to the supply of those furnaces this year, may be cut out, it puts another question: why is it that Ohio is brought into this argument as to the iron interests of the country? He knows, as he is well up in statistics and well up in every branch of industry, and in every issue in connection with the interests of his clients, and he certainly knows that the iron interests of this nation are the barometers of its prosperity. (Applause.) Now, we don't want to ask anything unfair of the miners. What is the condition of the miners as it relates to the operators? It is this: The operator has coal; it is in the ground. He thinks it is worth so much a ton in the ground whether it is taken out or not. The miner wants to mine that coal. If he mines it for the operator he must mine it at a price that the operator can afford to pay, which must be based on the price he can receive for that coal when put on the market. It is the price of the product after it comes from the hands of the miner that must rule it, however. If he wants more for that product than that product will bring in the market, it can not be mined and must remain underneath the ground. These are facts. You have an illustration of it here tonight. I don't suppose you could meet this man's proposition and make his mine prosperous even if you mined his coal at one-half the base scale price.

But when you come to the question of dealing with States, as Mr. Lewis claims we are dealing with, as also with the general interests of the States—if you invited me into your convention, to be bound by the rules of the convention, you must deal with all parts of the State fairly and with all inter-

ests brought into this convention, honestly and fairly. That is the degree of intelligence that we should bring to bear on this question. Now, notwithstanding the fact that during the past year, owing to certain circumstances, the operators in Pennsylvania have made some money, there is no certainty, however, that they will make money this year. We have given you facts in connection with the great iron industry of this country, the true barometer of the prosperity of this country—showing that there is an influence bearing on this question from the condition of the iron market. We all know that we have certain years of prosperity and then begin to go back again. We know that after advancing for a certain number of years in prosperity we must turn and go the other way.

I don't know that I have anything further to say on this question, only this, that the Streator district increased its shipment into the city of Chicago 125 per cent, and another district in Illinois increased her shipment 99 per cent. That is bituminous coal. Now, if you will take the bituminous coal from the State of Indiana and take it from the other States you will find that there is nothing shipped to that market but for steam purposes and that the tonnage shipped for other purposes amounts to but little. Now, the reason I ask you to consider this question in the State of Indiana is on account of this bituminous coal, because there we are threatened with a disaster as far as it relates to Indiana markets, just as great as that which has been suffered by the Pennsylvania operators, and that is natural gas.

It is honest. It is with us. If you put this price in the State of Indiana, you will prevent us from going into the Northwest and Chicago. Then of course, you will force that coal to stay in the ground, and you will force the miners to take their picks and shovels and seek work elsewhere. You might as well look the matter square in the face, because those are the facts of the case.

Mr. McBride—Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the convention, I feel called upon to again address you because of the fact that some of the statements made by me have been contradicted. But that they have been successfully contradicted I still deny. (Applause.)

There may have been advantage taken by the Ohio operator who said the screens have not been changed in northern Illinois, but I say to you that that district which is shipping also to Chicago and which if coming in direct competition to our Indiana friends, central Illinois, the screens have been changed as stated by me. (Applause.)

Technically hinging simply on the northern district the contradiction might have been right, but speaking in a gen-

eral way, my statement is absolutely true and I challenge denial. The gentleman just leaving the floor has made two or three peculiar propositions. The first is that relatively the wages of the miners must govern the conditions of our scale. What does he mean by "relative rates?" I think that is what he said. Does he mean relative mining rates? Let me see. In the convention held in the city hall of this city in December, 1885, a proposition was made that a scale be formed on the sliding basis, being a percentage of the increased tonnage fixing a selling as well as a mining price for coal. What was the rule made at that convention? It was this: "Never mind what we sell for. Fix the mining rate, and the selling rate will take care of itself." That was the argument then in answer to our proposition. Now, Ohio says relative mining rates shall govern. The relative mining rates and relative selling rates. The next is that the iron industry is the barometer which fixes or indicates the prosperity of the country. I am surprised, when in the same breath the gentleman says the price of mining materially adds to or takes from the ability to manufacture iron. In other words, I must construe his statement to mean this: that iron depends upon coal and that coal is the controlling industry, and that the price we fix for mining, if it is to have anything to do with iron, will mean an increase in the price of iron as well as an increase in the sales thereof. Now, if we are, as miners, to regulate the iron industry, why in the name of sense consider anything but the price of mining? Why not fix a price that will give the miners living wages and the operators fair profits and let the iron scale arrange itself? (Applause.) Why do they make this plea for the iron industries?

Colonel Yeoman—I beg your pardon sir but—

Mr. McBride—I would state to Colonel Yeoman that while he did not make a direct statement, you meant an inference in that direction.

Colonel Yeoman—I made no plea for the iron industries.

Mr. McBride—He said, however, gentlemen, that the ability to compete depended—or the ability to manufacture depended largely upon the mining rates of wages. Now, let us take the cost of producing a ton of iron, right here in the city of Pittsburgh, with coal, not with gas, but with coal; compare it with the cost at Birmingham, Alabama, and I want to ask you, does the price of mining coal in the Pittsburg district and the cost of mining coal in the Warrior Creek, Alabama—does the difference in the cost in these two places justify the manufacturing done in the two fields? Take it home to you, gentlemen, and if you strike off the difference in mining, and reduce it 50 per cent you could not place a ton

of iron made by coal that is used as fuel on the market as low as they do it there.

Now, Mr. Ashburner, who is an authority in such matters, says that there is a saving to manufacturers of from 65 to 70 per cent in manufacturing by using natural gas as a fuel. Now, can you make that difference by taking off the entire price of mining? Certainly not. Then how do you expect us to compete with natural gas?

Let me say this, that it has always been claimed by the miners and largely conceded by you, gentlemen on the operators' side, that it was neither the skill of the miner as a workman, the amount of labor required to produce the coal nor yet the value of his labor in the market that regulated his wages. You know it was the cheaper labor with which we came in competition. Now, right here in the Pittsburg district you have that question. It is not what you receive for your coal, it is not what amount of labor or skill is necessary to produce it, no; but because Mr. Scott or some one else 5 or 10 cents below you, you must have labor at the same wages. Hence it is a question of labor. Cheaper labor.

Now, then, that is an antediluvian idea. If the mines of western Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana are on a fair relative wage rate with that of Illinois, why should you ask that the natural disadvantages that you suffer shall be made good by the unnatural means of reducing the prices of the miners' wages? It was stated that the operators present today were induced, gentlemen, to indorse the Columbus scale last year. I want to state that if I was informed rightly in that convention and out of that convention, that there seemed to be very little inducement required either to operators of western Pennsylvania, Ohio or Indiana to indorse the conditions of that scale, and there would have been no conditional scale had the operators of Illinois coincided with the operators of the other States. Why? You know that Mr. Sweet, on the floor of that convention, charged you with treachery when the subject of compromise was talked of. He charged you before going into the convention that you voted for no scale that was satisfactory to him. He also made that charge on the floor of the convention. Now, there are many things that might be discussed. For instance, our friend from Ohio, Mr. Chapman, in speaking about the ability of poor men to keep warm by reason of expensive prices or excessive prices paid for mining, stated that he would have to come down from two fires to one. If you wanted to remedy that let me suggest (although I don't suppose it will be entertained) that you could charge higher prices to rich corporations and lower prices to poor men, if you wish. (Applause.)

If it were a question for our consideration—if it were a question of sympathy for the poor men of this country, you could very easily remedy that. This argument is not to show that you can do this, or that you should do it, but simply to knock that argument in the head. Now, let me see. My friend Lewis said correctly that 10 cents per ton of a reduction would not increase railroad building one mile in the year. An advance or rather present rates of mining will not add to the rates of next year unless there is a demand for it, and that demand must come from circumstances over which we have no control. This argument might be continued.

It was stated here, however, about the increase in the Wilmington coal field or in the Braidwood coal field, as one gentleman put it, that the increase was so very large.

Now, I want to read you the reports of the Chicago market. We will take the Pittsburg coal from January 1 to January 31, 1886, as compared with the same period in 1887, and it shows an increase of 3,484 tons; then from the Briar Hill territory, we have an increase of 2,915 tons. The increase of the Hocking valley during the same period was 105,949 tons. The Ohio Central, which is a portion of that field, 26,738 tons; Shawnee, 19,664 tons; Jackson Hill, I believe that is usually called Ohio coal, 35,222 tons.

I have not taken the trouble to run them together, but you will ascertain there is quite an increase in that State.

Now, we will take the Braidwood field that is referred to in one of the speeches here this evening, and the Wilmington coal shows a decrease of 24,217 tons in the Chicago market. Braceville, which is almost the neighbor of it, shows a decrease of 32,664. On the other hand, Streator shows an increase of 115,294 tons. Grape Creek an increase of 88,622 tons.

Now, where does that increase come from that is talked of so much? Certainly not from Braidwood, because it shows an immense decrease, and what are the conditions of the works at Streator? The coal is easier mined than the western Pennsylvania coal and as easy as the Hocking valley coal. They are paying 80 cents per ton. Is that a fair relative wage rate? I am charged with advocating the position taken by the Illinois operators. I am not; I am arguing against the basis on which you have constructed your arguments in this matter. It is true that the Illinois operators had not lived up to the agreement they had sanctioned, and it is also true that I am not making any pleas for them, but simply showing you how little there is in the argument put forth by the operators in this convention.

I don't know as I need say much more on this question.

I might have referred to a number of things that I have not, but it seems to me one of two things, if you want to conduct an argument fairly on this question, you must first determine on what basis you intend to place it on, and from what standpoint you propose to argue this question. Don't run all over creation for an argument. Don't charge that the sun, the moon and the stars have something to do with the mining of coal and the wages of miners. Don't say that the manufacture of iron is the barometer of the prosperity and welfare of this country. There are too many different classes of industry in this country for that, and one of those branches is the mining industry. (Applause.)

Mr. De Armitt—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, if my success depended upon my ability to compete with the gentleman who has just taken his seat, or with Mr. Lewis, in the line of argument, I will give up right here. But some one has said, and well said, that words are misleading because of their materiality, and some such line of thought has come to me that listening to the arguments tonight would lead us to believe that we are pretty nearly in the condition of the Darktown Debating Society, scoring scientific points on words, because words have different meanings. I was led to this line of thought by Mr. Lewis' remark. He has spoken here about not taking advantage of a spasm in the iron market. Well, I have had a spasm, and I know something about the spasms in the iron market. They don't pass away in fifteen minutes. As you well know, a spasm in so large a business as the iron industry, which has been truly called the barometer of trade in this region, is something, when it comes, that no miner here need fear listening to, hearkening to, and being governed by; he need not fear to set a price because the next fifteen minutes may show him that it was an error. That is not so. Neither do I agree with Mr. McBride, who seeks to place the operator from Indiana in the position of making a plea for the iron industry. We might as well quarrel with the system we are in as to deny this fact. I get a mote in my eye; I might as well say to my ear, Don't let that inflammation extend back here. This is a local matter merely. The depression in the iron industry has nothing to do with the coal trade; I never heard business treated in that way. When the iron maker says to the coke man, "We must have a lower price for coke in order to meet the market," the coke man weighs the question and seeks to reach the facts. As I have learned, in a brief experience, when the coke man goes back, with the amalgamated association and the federation of miners behind him, and says to them, "Gentlemen, the price of coke must go down," therefore the price of labor must go down, be-

cause the inflammation in the eye is going to extend to the ear. If I were going to make a constitution I would make it so that the inflammation would be confined solely to the eye. The amalgamated association, in such a case, recognizes this, and they say, "We accept the situation," in so many words, and a reduction in wages is the result. Now is the miners' association any less intelligent; any less a part of the body politic, governed by the rules of political economy, wrong though they may be? They are as they were made by the Creator, and we have nothing to do with that.

I am glad Mr. McBride has produced some figures here. A great deal has been said about "relative" prices. What is the meaning of the word relative? I am, I might say, in a relative position to that chair, and yet I am in a relative position to all these other chairs and everything else in this hall. The relative prices of mining must be governed by all the relative things that surround it. I have a friend who has invested in a burner to burn Lima oil. They are now seeking to introduce it as a fuel. There are so many barrels of oil produced. They say, how much is a barrel of oil worth compared to a ton of coal? Now, if oil can compete with coal as a fuel, the price of mining that coal must be relative to that competition. It will not do to take a mere intention of that term which almost contradicts its allegation or its definition. We do not debate in that way, but go after facts. Mr. McBride shows that the States are all relative here, and there was a whole lot of back and forward talk about what you said and what I said, and you went back and I went back, etc., but the price is relative in a certain sense. Now, according to those figures produced here by Mr. McBride, showing a growth in Ohio, as I remember the figures, of 2,000 tons a year, what becomes of the "relative" there? The lack of growth in Pittsburg is relative. Indiana may have got part of that coal. Ohio may have done so, but it proves nothing with regard to Illinois. That don't enter as a factor. The assumption you make from your figures is that all the outside conditions in the year 1887 remained practically unchanged in every particular. That is a big assumption. What do you base it on? Where are your reasons for it?

Another thing: Mr. Lewis says, as I understand him, that the resolution of the operators makes a reduction of 10 cents per ton. Now, I don't so understand it. As I remember, we paid 74 cents per ton for digging coal last summer, and at the close of navigation paid 69 cents. Now, is 69 cents 10 cents below or 5 cents below? If it is 5, then the reduction was not a 10-cent reduction.

I want to say here that the company that I represent mined out last year seventy-one acres of coal, and at their annual

meeting the other day a statement of their affairs was submitted, and for the sake of getting at the facts I will say that on that seventy-one acres of coal the company lost just \$11,146. Now that is a fact, no matter what weight it might have here.

What is the prospect for next year for paying more wages? Why can't the miners here, if these are the facts, recognize them, and if there are, besides those facts, other deficiencies behind them, why can't they, instead of being unwilling to accept them, recognize them and bow to the inevitable?

Mr. McCreery—Mr. President: As you are aware you are the man who was to represent Pennsylvania at this meeting, and you have asked me to say what you would have said better than I can.

Gentlemen, if there is any other principle fixed in the laws of traffic than that the supply and demand shall regulate the price, I do not know what it is. Now gentlemen, it seems to me that Mr. McBride and Mr. Lewis, two clear-headed, excellent men, are laboring honestly and faithfully to get for their constituents everything that is in the business for their constituents, and to do the best they can for them, and I am the last man in this association—I have been in it just one year; I went into it because I believed it was the duty of every man to contribute his efforts to bring about peace and harmony where we used to have strikes and trouble. We never had much trouble. I have been in one year, I said, and my contribution to this association has not been less than \$15,000. Every single cent that has been put on mining for the last year has been a contribution to this association. Our cars are standing on the railroad today loaded with coal and coke, and it is frozen solid to the bottom; coal that has been mined for the benefit of the miners, and there the cars stand on the railroad waiting for customers. I had occasion to unload some of them and they were frozen solid. That is offered at the same price that we offered coal at before and we can't sell it.

Now, if it is a matter of supply and demand, if the demand has fallen off, or is going to fall off for the coming year, where is our power to control that?

We made, during the past year, 600 and—well, 6,640,000 tons of pig iron, unprecedented in the history of the world. As Mr. President Newell told me tonight the iron men have spoken; they have demanded that the price of coke be reduced to \$1.50 in the Connellsville region, and a similar reduction in freight, or they will not start the works. Do you wonder the furnaces can't run. If the furnaces can't run the rolling mills can't run; the steel works can't run. They made 112,000

tons of steel rail last year. The price has fallen from \$44 to \$31.50. What does this fall mean? You can go to Carnegie, to the Cambria Iron and Steel Company, to the Chicago Rolling Mill Company, and buy all the steel rails you want for next year's delivery at \$31.50. What does this mean? Simply that there is no demand, and when there is no demand where is this coal going to? I would give to any aggregation of men or to any individuals a thousand cars of coal today at cost for the benefit of my miners, not for myself. (Applause.)

Our company wisely or otherwise, invested eight years ago \$1,050,000 in railroad cars and coke ovens. If Colonel Rend, or some other man, should send me a telegram and tell me he would give me 50 cents on the dollar for that investment, I would go after him as fast as steam could carry me, and I would try to get him to make me a cash payment to hold him to it, for fear he would back out. We worked right in accordance with this Columbus scale last year, and I didn't give my stockholders one single cent, and the reason was that I did not have the cent to give them.

Now, I know you men to be fair and honest. You think we can pay the price you ask, or you wouldn't ask it; but, gentlemen, it is simply out of the question, and there is no rule in the world that can keep a concern constantly paying a greater price for anything than they can obtain for it in the market, and we simply can not get cost today for our coal at the present prices. Now the contest seems to have been since yesterday, lying mainly between Indiana and a part of Ohio and a part of Illinois. If the Illinois men have been better paid than the Pennsylvania and Ohio men for their services, and if they have taken the northwestern market, it simply proves that they can keep it. That is it, isn't it? Then where will I sell my coal? Five million tons have been displaced by natural gas; that is, in the Pittsburg districts and in the villages between here and the lakes. Now 5,000,000 tons of coal that used to rush into this market has simply been sent like a flood to seek other markets, like the glaciers that go from the Alps to the great North Sea. We have nothing to do with the Northwest; all that traffic has been taken from us by inches. Where shall we go, Mr. McBride?

Mr. McBride—I will answer by asking a question: What difference does it make to you whether you fix \$1 a ton for mining, or 50 cents a ton, if you don't sell any?

Mr. McCreery—None whatever. Gentlemen, we earned last year \$110,000,000 by our railroads, and about \$50,000,000 by the iron mills, say \$150,000,000. When that business is checked does it not affect the coal business? My dear sir, we know that no high prices in the coal mines for labor, or any-

thing of the kind, have ever been obtained when there was a depressed iron market.

And if iron is not the barometer of trade, gentlemen, I don't know what is. A gentleman told me a few moments ago—it was Mr. Mullens—that a concern which had furnished coal to a railroad at cost price told the railroad company that they must either advance the price 5 cents or close the mines. "Close your mines, Mr. Mullens; our business has fallen off and we can buy all the coal we want at that rate."

Now I can't ship coal to the Northwest for what it cost me to produce it. I know you don't expect me to stand a loss on every carload of coal. My prosperity is yours and yours is mine; and I tell you, gentlemen, that unless something happens, which we have no right to anticipate, we can not pay that price for coal, and, from necessity, the mines will close. Ours are not mining today. One is closed entirely and the other two are running just as we can find a market for it, and we have a meadow filled full of coke there. What are we going to do with it? I can't see. Where is the room for an advance? I can't see.

I know that the intelligent miners that come here from our district know that every word I say is true. I don't think the railroads need their cars very badly or they would not have them standing on the track there frozen solid. I have heard since I came here that the demand for coke has fallen off to such an extent that it has almost paralyzed the business. I have also been informed that the business is not nearly half what it was last year.

Colonel Rend—Let me say, with all due deference to the eloquence of my friend, Mr. McBride, I must emphatically deny some of his statements of which he challenges contradiction. On the start let me say candidly and honestly that I disclaim any intention of making any war on northern Illinois. The gentlemen from northern Illinois, the miners and operators here, are, most of them, my personal friends, and I hold them in high respect, and while in the excitement of today I said some things—some impulsive things—I don't wish to make any personal attack on any man. (Applause.) Now there seems to be a very wide difference of opinion here; there seems to be quite a gap between you gentlemen, and as we are here for arbitration and conciliation I think the best thing you could do would be to leave this matter to arbitration, and let me be the arbitrator. (Applause.) Now, let us get at the facts. We formulated a year ago a scale of wages which was generally conceded to be the fair thing—relatively fair. I don't think the Illinois operators were at all neglectful of their interests in the Columbus convention. I think

the gentlemen will bear me out that they were as anxious to secure advantageous terms for themselves as any representatives who were at the convention. We established a scale that was as satisfactory to them as to any of the other operators; but it was conditional, inasmuch as it was at the option of the committee to declare whether there should be a general advance or not under certain circumstances. But the gentlemen from northern Illinois come here and say, "We have advanced 5½ cents, gentlemen, and on top of that we have made them change the screens in that State, which makes 15 cents." Is that the true position? Northern Illinois has not changed the screens. I contend that they are not paying what they ought to pay, according to the spirit of our agreement. They can afford to pay more, and then stand relatively in a stronger position than the operators of Ohio or Pennsylvania, who have to compete with them to the Northwest. Statistics have been read, and I think they have been read honestly, and I must say I listened with the greatest attention to the first statement made by the first gentleman, Mr. Lewis, and I think he was candid and sincere, but he overlooked certain facts which I wish here to state.

There has been a great deal of stress placed on the fact that in Chicago, the great competitive market of the Northwest, that there has been a great increase in the sale of Ohio and Pennsylvania coal.

In the statements of Mr. Lewis it was shown that the increase has been greater than the increase of coal from Illinois. Now is that statement not misleading? Is it not a fact that the coal that comes from the Hocking valley, that comes from Pittsburg — from the western Pennsylvania region — to the Northwestern markets, has got to go through Chicago? Is it not a fact that a great bulk of the coal that goes to Chicago and appears in these districts goes to points farther north? And is it not a fact that probably nine-tenths of the coal mined in northern Illinois never goes to Chicago at all? Is that not true? Now where are your facts? Are they reliable? Do they form a proper basis for comparison? Let me take your own figures and I will show that they are not accurate. I have taken the figures of our accurate statistician, Mr. Bischoff, which he collects direct from the books of the railroad companies at Chicago. These are the figures of Indiana and Illinois jointly: The shipments to the Chicago market for 1887, 2,530,460 tons. Now I have taken the entire year. Their figures are not for a year. Now I will give you the entire year. You know the longer the period the more accurate the result.

In 1886 the two States shipped 1,907,192 tons. The two States show an increase of 623,268 tons.

Ohio and Pennsylvania shipped into the market of Chicago, for local use, and to other points beyond the city the first year, 1,331,360; the second year, 1,555,762.

In other words, 216,402 tons of an increase. Now how much of that coal went beyond Chicago, and how much of it was disposed of in that city? Much of it went beyond.

Mr. McBride, who asserts that the northern Illinois managers were paying all they were able to, does not understand their condition. I think I explained the financial ability of those gentlemen yesterday. What are these men receiving for their coal? I say that the selling price of our coal does cut a figure in what we can afford to pay. There is no use denying that. Any man is a fool that will say that the price for which he sells his goods is not governed by the price he pays. Now I will give you some figures in regard to Chicago. I will give a man a thousand dollars that will say and prove that these will not be true. Mr. Costello went on an excursion two years ago to Chicago to examine the books of a certain concern, and he knows what he found; he went there and one of the members paid his expenses. It was shown that within a few months previous to the examination the selling price of Pittsburg coal to Chicago manufacturers had declined \$1.40 per ton, and was then in many cases being sold at a loss to retain its place in the market. When Costello, and the two delegates who accompanied him, returned to the miners which they represented they made no report, and assigned as the reason that in their opinion the miners would not credit their statement that coal was being sold at such extremely low figures.

It is a fact that we have not been able to make an absolutely fair standard of wages, even in any one district. We have to be governed by a number of considerations, and one of them is, what the miners can afford to take and what the operators can afford to pay. Now, gentlemen, what is coal selling for in Chicago—Pittsburg coal? It is selling there to the packers in the city of Chicago at \$3.25. The American Packing Company in the city of Chicago, which, next to Armour's, is the largest packing concern in the world, has been buying Pittsburg coal from me for fifteen years. They paid me \$3.35; they paid me that a week ago, gentlemen; in other words, \$1.10 at the mines, but Indiana operators have now taken away from me this trade, their coal being relatively cheaper. Now the cost of dead work in the Pittsburg district is possibly as much as it is at Streator. Now last summer that coal was sold at \$1.05 cents at the mines. Is that not correct?

Mr. Robbins—It even went lower than that.

Colonel Rend—Now there is 31 cents above mining. I bought a great deal of coal here during the fall at \$1.05. Now let me say that you have to have a careful and economic management in order to do the dead work at 31 cents. Now what have they been getting in Illinois? Now the bulk of the coal in Illinois was sold at what price during the past year? The bulk of it goes to railroads.

Take the Illinois coal, it is sold by the operators to the railroads at what prices? A dollar and forty-five cents. Is there any cheaper contract than that? I would like to be informed if I am laboring under a misapprehension. In other words, they get twice as much as we do above mining.

A Delegate—The lowest contract filled for Streator coal is \$1.25.

Colonel Rend—What are you getting for Braidwood coal?

Answer—We are getting \$1.38 for coal from the Northwestern road.

Colonel Rend—You are getting \$1.75 for most of the coal that you sell from Streator.

A Delegate—No, sir; we are not.

Colonel Rend—Well, I have been trying to get some, and I couldn't get it below that.

Mr. Sweet—We have been getting \$2 a ton at the mines, but on account of the reductions which have been made in the Indiana and other coal we have reduced ours to \$1.60. I think we would be very happy if we could get more than that.

Colonel Rend—I know Mr. Sweet is anxious to get into good company. I hope before he goes away he will come here and join us. While he was with us he acted very fairly and judiciously, and I, for one, shall very much deplore his loss to our association.

Now I will say to you this: We must get to the bottom of this question as quickly as possible. I will say to you, conscientiously and candidly, that the operators in Pennsylvania and Ohio can not pay a wage scale or a price above the average of last year.

Now this movement has done an immense amount of good and increased the price of mining 15 per cent. Let me say to you that during the last year the miners of western Pennsylvania, considering the cost of commodities, did better than they have done for the last twelve or fifteen years. It is hardly fair for the gentlemen to say that they have been reduced from 91 cents a ton for mining. Well, yes, for two or three months during that twelve years they probably got that price. The river was low then. There was a coal famine in Cincinnati and the miners made this demand at the mo-

ment, and the operators were offered any price they would ask for their coal, and they conceded the advance to the miners, but how long did it last? You know it only remained that way for a very little while, and then fell back to 65 cents again. Now let me ask you is not an average of 76½ cents, if you have no strikes and have work throughout the year, better than what you have been getting in the past with all the strikes, reductions and lockouts that you have suffered from?

The average cost of mining in western Pennsylvania is now higher, relatively, as compared with Illinois than it has been before. I expect that the scale is not absolutely just, but is as near approach to what is just as is practicable when we regard the many difficulties in the way. Now there are certain mines in the Hocking valley where a man will dig seven tons and others where he digs four or five tons, but only one rate can be paid throughout this field. Why? Because the operator must be in a position where he can sell his coal in the market. We have made the same concessions to operators in other parts of Ohio than the Hocking valley. Now it seems that this northern Illinois difficulty is rather an unfortunate affair. Mr. Sweet is here, and if he will say that he will pay the Columbus scale for last year, I, for one, will accept that proposition. I can't speak for the rest of the gentlemen present, however. Now you must remember there is a competition from other fields as well as Illinois. When we come to put our coal in the Northwest we have to compete with the Reynoldsville coal. There is a competitive coal that is passed off as Ohio coal that is mined in West Virginia that comes right square by our mines. It is mined for 50 cents a ton, where the screen is one and three-quarter inches. The coal is better than ours, and the increase of freight is only 25 cents more than ours. Now we don't come to you and say this because this coal is mined in Virginia at 50 cents a ton we want you to come down accordingly.

Now some of the gentlemen have requested me to repeat what I said yesterday. I will repeat just what I said, and that is: That there is a combination on the part of the railway companies to help the Illinois coal companies. I reassert the fact. I do say that the officers of the Northwestern railroad are discriminating against Ohio coal and Pennsylvania coal, to the extent of from 40 to 50 cents a ton. Coal that is mined at Danville is sent through to its destination as if it was billed at Chicago to its starting point. The Northwestern Railroad Company violates the interstate laws and the constitution of the United States, which forbids discrimination in traffic between States. Of course I don't blame

these men in northern Illinois for getting what they can out of these officers. I would take it myself if I could get it.

Gentlemen, you must pardon me. I did not intend to speak so long as I have. When my friend, Mr. Wilton, was strutting over the platform and showing me how he was flourishing himself in 1874, and telling you what you ought to do and what the operators want, and all this, it awakened in my mind several reminiscences.

Wilton was one of those fellows that called a convention to denounce me some years ago. He said he didn't care what anybody said about him. I do. What were the resolutions they passed at that convention, gentlemen? Why, they wanted to hang me. (Laughter and applause.)

Mr. Wilton—I would ask you, did they hang you?

Colonel Rend—Well, they wanted to.

Mr. McLaughlin—Colonel, I would like to call your attention to a statement which you made, but didn't intend, I believe. You said that all the coal mined in western Pennsylvania and Ohio passed through Chicago and that the great bulk of the northern coal went right to the Northwest without going through Chicago.

Colonel Rend—I didn't say that because some of the Ohio and Pennsylvania coal goes by lake to the Northwest.

I hope you will now get down to figures without any quibbling. Let us come down to facts and figures. Let us get a clear statement before us and settle this matter promptly, and then I hope Colonel Sweet will come in and join us again.

Mr. Costello—I am going to say that if Mr. Rend's statements are all as true as his first one, and he would offer \$1,000 to us to prove their falsity, we would all be rich if he would live up to his promise.

Colonel Rend—Now I want you to refresh my memory. Didn't I show you that at that time there was a reduction of \$1.40 per ton in the selling price of coal within a short period, and that much of our Pittsburg coal was being sold at less than cost? You can not deny this fact.

Adjourned to meet at 2 o'clock tomorrow (Thursday) afternoon, in order to give the miners time to hold a meeting tomorrow morning.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON SESSION.

Convention called to order at 2:40 by Chairman Dempster, but the committee's report being the question before the house and as the miners have not concluded their deliberations, a recess is taken until they appear.

During the recess the delegates were entertained by A. H. Bischoff and others.

Convention reconvenes at 4 o'clock p. m.

The Chairman—The question before the house is on the motion of Colonel Yeoman that the base scale be taken up as the scale price to be paid on the first of May, 1888, to the first of May, 1889, amended by Mr. McBride that the prices to be paid from the first day of May, 1888, to the first day of May, 1889, shall be 10 cents per ton over and above the said base scale. This is as the chair understands the question.

The question being called for and put, the following vote was taken on the amendment of Mr. McBride:

Pennsylvania miners, aye 4 votes; Ohio miners, aye 4 votes; Indiana miners, aye 4 votes; total 12. Pennsylvania operators, nay 4 votes, Ohio operators, nay 4 votes; Indiana operators, nay 4 votes; total 12.

Amendment lost.

The Chairman—Now the question recurs to the original motion of Colonel Yeoman.

The question was called for and put; following is the vote:

Pennsylvania miners, nay 4 votes; Ohio miners, nay 4 votes; Indiana miners, nay 4 votes; total 12 votes. Pennsylvania operators, aye 4 votes; Ohio operators, aye 4 votes; Indiana operators, aye 4 votes; total 12 votes.

Motion lost.

The Chairman—What is the will of the convention in regard to the matter now before the house?

Mr. Penna—I didn't want to have anything to say at this meeting at present, but it seems nobody else will take hold of it. We, as miners, today have been in convention the whole day.

Colonel Yeoman—I rise to a point of order. Unless there is the consent of this convention given for the gentleman to speak, there is no motion before the house to which any member can address himself.

The Chairman—You had better make a motion.

Mr. Penna—The miners are not prepared to make any offer at present.

Mr. Sherrard—I move the gentleman have privilege to state the position of the miners. We have been waiting here expecting that they would report something, and now as they are about to speak I think it is fair that we should hear

them. I move that he have leave to state the position of the miners.

Colonel Yeoman—This places the operators in a queer position. We have, under our rules, an order of business. The order of business now before us is the consideration of the formation of a scale, and now any motion looking to back up that subject, if further discussion is thought necessary, is in order, but it seems to me that the motion of the gentleman is out of order. I don't like to be technical. I don't like to be placed in the position I am. The miners have this scale under consideration, and we are willing to wait patiently for some motion. We made a motion that was voted down. Now let us have something before the convention that is tangible, that is businesslike. I hope he will withdraw that motion.

Motion withdrawn.

Mr. Penna—I rise to move you, sir, that the prices to be paid for mining coal from May 1, 1888, to May 1, 1889, shall be the present prices now paid.

The Chairman—The gentleman will please put his motion in writing in order that we may understand it right and that no mistake be made.

Mr. Penna—I will put it in the form of a resolution and ask the secretary to read it.

Secretary reads resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That the prices now being paid for mining coal shall prevail during the ensuing year.

Motion seconded and remarks called for that the prices to be paid from May 1, 1888, to May 1, 1889, shall be the base scale adopted by the convention.

Amendment seconded and remarks called for.

Colonel Yeoman—I move as an amendment to that motion that the prices to be paid from May 1, 1888, to May 1, 1889, shall be the base scale that has been adopted by this convention.

A Delegate—I would suggest that the chairman request the gentleman to reduce his amendment to writing.

Amendment reduced to writing and read by Colonel Yeoman, as follows:

Resolved, That the motion of Mr. Penna be made to read that the prices to be paid for mining coal from May 1, 1888, to May 1, 1889, be the base scale prices named in the base scale adopted by this convention.

Colonel Yeoman—I had thought of rising to a question of order on the motion of Mr. Penna, as it was really the same

motion as we had voted down before, but he seems to have adopted some new phraseology which is slightly different from that of Mr. McBride, and it is reduced to writing. I will therefore withdraw my motion and call for the question on Mr. Penna's motion.

Mr. Lewis—I move to amend by striking out the words "present prices" in Mr. Penna's motion and inserting "present scale rates," which is 10 cents above present paying rates.

The Chairman—Mr. Penna's motion is exactly the same as that offered by Mr. Lewis—10 cents over the base scale—which comes within the limit of Mr. Yeoman's amendment.

Mr. Lewis—That motion of Mr. Penna's is a little vague, and if adopted it would not be satisfactory to the miners of this convention in that shape. The meaning of it is all right, but it leaves room for those who are not paying present scale rates to work ahead at the present prices; also any other changes that may be necessary in the price of mining it leaves just as they are now, when in fact it should be amended on the matters not relating to scale.

The Chairman—The chair will not entertain any motion that has already been voted on, and that has been voted on before. If Mr. Penna will modify his motion so that it will read not as before, then we will entertain it.

Mr. Penna—When I offered this resolution I did it in order to get the question before the house so that the miners might have a chance to state their feelings on this matter and tell the operators how they feel in the matter. The operators had objected to us stating that without first getting something before the house, and now when we do get a question before the meeting and desire to talk to that——

The Chairman—I must call the gentleman to order. It is scale we want now and not feeling. We will take a vote on this motion.

Mr. Penna—I certainly shall appeal from the decision of the chair. I was certainly speaking to that question. The scale question is the only question before the house, and I was speaking to that question.

The Chairman—Do you insist on taking the appeal, Mr. Penna?

Mr. Penna—I certainly do, sir.

Colonel Yeoman was called to the chair and Mr. Dempster takes his place in the audience.

The Chairman—Gentlemen, you have heard the ruling of the chairman and you have heard the appeal taken by Mr. Penna. Are there any remarks on the question of appeal?

The motion being put the result was: Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana operators sustain the chair; Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana miners sustain the appeal. There being a tie vote, the chair declares the appeal lost.

Mr. Lewis—I rise to a point of order. In an appeal, if the chair is not sustained by a majority of the votes he is not sustained.

Colonel Yeoman—Anyhow the appeal has been lost.

Mr. Dempster again resumes his position as chairman.

Mr. Evans—It would appear to me that we are getting into a pretty good humor. How it will all terminate is quite a different thing. I took my place here a short time ago for the purpose of making some remarks on the position taken by this convention. When Mr. Penna rose to speak upon matters that I believe would certainly interest each and every member of this convention——

The Chairman—I shall have to call the gentleman to order.

Colonel Rend—Is the question really before the house?

The Chairman—The motion of Mr. Penna is before the house; yes, sir.

Mr. Lewis—I move you that the motion of Mr. Penna be laid on the table.

Motion being put, the result was as follows: Pennsylvania operators and miners vote aye; Ohio operators and miners vote aye; Indiana operators and miners vote aye.

Mr. Lewis—Now, Mr. Chairman, is there a motion before the house?

The Chair—The scale question is in order.

Mr. Evans—I ask the privilege of the convention to make a few remarks. (Consent granted.) It seems to me that we are getting into a similar position to that which we occupied one year ago when in Columbus. After spending two or three days there was a necessity in several instances to move an adjournment in order that we might consult the feelings of the two parties; that would enable us to arrive at more satisfactory conclusions. I am not prepared to say whether we are in as good a position today as we were one year ago in that particular. I would say, however, that according to my judgment it would be to the interest of this convention to hold another consultation on the questions that are before this meeting. My friend Rend has suggested that this question be arbitrated, and that he be the arbitrator to decide for us. Now, it may be that before we arrive at conclusions that we will want an umpire. I hope not. The convention took the

stand against my friend Penna in making some remarks as to the position of the miners on this question. It seems to me unnecessary at this time, when taking into consideration the hours that have been spent in discussing the question; in fact, it would appear to me to be a waste of time to undertake to repeat the same discussions that took place yesterday and the day before on this question. I feel as though there is a necessity for you to try to prevent a general discussion further on the question, and for the purpose of trying to bring the two sides together on this question—as I believe if we discussed the matter from now until tomorrow morning we would be only widening the breach, and no satisfactory conclusions arrived at at the end of that time—and for the purpose of arriving at conclusions that I believe will be satisfactory to all concerned, I move that the question of scale of prices be referred to a committee of three operators and three miners, to report to this convention tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock.

Colonel Yeoman—I move you, sir, an amendment to that motion by having them report to this convention tonight at half-past 7 o'clock.

Mr. Taylor—Some one has suggested that it be referred back to the scale committee.

The Chair—That is not the motion.

Mr. Evans—I rise to explain for the satisfaction of Colonel Yeoman that the motion as it now stands allows this convention the privilege of selecting the scale committee if it chooses.

The Chairman—The scale committee has been discharged, as I understand it.

A Delegate—The committee has not been discharged yet.

Colonel Yeoman—I will amend my motion to refer it back to the scale committee.

Mr. Lewis—As soon as the report of a committee has been acted upon that committee stands discharged without any further action.

Mr. De Armitt—The convention adopted only that part of the committee's report regarding the scale, and the remainder of the report was left for the discussion of the house. This question could very properly be referred back to that committee, and I think it should be, as that committee is most competent to deal with it.

The Chairman—The report was full and complete and was adopted by the convention. Therefore Mr. Lewis' point is well taken. Though there can be no objection to referring it back to that committee, I will therefore entertain that motion.

Colonel Yeoman—I have so amended my motion to amend.

Mr. Evans—So far as one of the members of that com-

mittee is concerned, Mr. McBride, he was very sick when we left him at the hotel, and I hardly think he will be able to act on that committee. If he is present, or to be present, he will be glad to act on the committee. If he is not better, however, he can not act.

Mr. Gray—I went down to see him at 4 o'clock and he can't act on that committee, I don't think.

Mr. Penna—I hope this convention will see fit to refer this matter to an entirely new committee. I don't think there is any hope of that committee fixing this scale question to the satisfaction of all, and I for one hope that it will be sent to another committee who can act on the question with better results than have been received from the old committee. Therefore I hope the amendment will be voted down.

Colonel Yeoman—Out of respect to my friend Penna's wishes and on account of the sickness of the gentleman, Mr. McBride, I will withdraw my amendment to my amendment.

Mr. Chapman—Before that motion is put I desire to offer another amendment, and that is that the committee consist of two from each State, and that the committee be chosen by the different States, not by this convention.

Amendment to make it two on the part of the miners from each State and two on the part of the operators from each State accepted as part of the original motion. The question being called for, the following vote was the result:

Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana operators vote aye; Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana miners vote aye. Motion carried as amended. The committee was then appointed upon call of the roll as follows: Indiana, P. H. Penna, M. D. Gray, for miners, S. N. Yeoman, James Crawford, for operators; Ohio, Chris Evans W. T. Lewis, for miners, H. L. Chapman, H. D. Turney, for operators; Pennsylvania, James Shaming, W. B. Wilson, for miners, F. L. Robbins, W. P. De Armitt, for operators.

Colonel Yeoman—The committee will meet at the parlors of the Monongahela House as soon after supper as possible.

The convention adjourned to meet at 7:30 this evening.

THURSDAY EVENING SESSION.

Convention called to order by Chairman Dempster at 7:30 o'clock.

Mr. Robbins—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the convention. I have been selected by the committee to state to

you that they have, by a unanimous vote, pledged the convention to the following resolution:

“Resolved, That the scale price from May 1, 1888, to November 1, 1888, shall be 5 cents per ton above the base scale adopted by this convention; and from November 1, 1888, to May 1, 1889, 10 cents per ton above the base scale. The prices then, gentlemen, governed by this resolution will be as follows:

“For the first six months: Hocking, 65 cents; Pennsylvania, 74 cents; Reynoldsville and Fairmont, 70 cents; Indiana block, 85 cents; Indiana bituminous, 70 cents. For the succeeding six months as follows: Hocking, 70 cents; Pennsylvania, 79 cents; Reynoldsville and Fairmont, 75 cents; Indiana block, 90 cents; Indiana bituminous, 75 cents. This is the report of the committee.”

Colonel Rend—I move the adoption of the report of the committee.

Mr. De Armitt—I would like to have one word of explanation. Do I understand that those prices are governed by the rules of the association, which makes it a matter—which binds any district accepting them?

Colonel Yeoman—That was the agreement in the committee.

The Chairman—It should have been covered by the report then. As the report now stands it is an additional figure from May 1, 1888, to November 1, 1888, and from November 1, 1888, to May 1, 1889, without any qualification or any question as to the State board as it stands at present.

Mr. Robbins—It is subject to the rules as heretofore regarding that matter, which is governed by the interstate board.

Mr. Penna—Do I understand that Mr. Robbins and Mr. Yeoman regard that as a conditional scale; conditioned on those other basis, for instance Illinois?

Mr. Robbins—The agreement is as heretofore existed covering the districts in the States of Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana.

Mr. Penna—Now let us have a definite understanding. Do you refer to the rule that we adopted last year?

Mr. Robbins—Yes, sir.

Mr. Penna—In which it is stated that in those places the scale shall not be paid until the others are brought up to the scale provisions?

Colonel Yeoman—As I understand it, Mr. Chairman, the conditions of the agreement, I asked my friend who presented

that resolution if that resolution was offered under the rules governing the association in regard to matters of that kind. He replied that it was so offered. Now then, as a matter of course, Illinois not being included, and being entirely eliminated, is not one of the conditions and no condition in this matter. It was eliminated from this. However, we expect and anticipate that in your efforts to govern Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania—and we think we have a right in good faith to expect it—that you will do your best to exercise a wholesome influence over your craft in Illinois and other places.

Mr. Chapman—In order to be more explicit, it is intended, as I understand that resolution, that the Hocking valley, the western Pennsylvania fields, the Reynoldsville fields, the Indiana block coal fields and the bituminous coal fields of Indiana, over which we presume to exercise control, shall pay those prices named all in that scale. That those districts named shall all pay that scale. It does not relate to Illinois or any other section of the country not named specifically in that resolution.

Mr. Sherrard—Some misunderstanding may arise in this way: The basis is fixed for Hocking valley in Ohio. There are places in Ohio, however, that are paying more than 65 cents from the first of May to the first of November, and more than 70 cents from November, 1888, to May, 1889. Now it seems to me, to make it plain and comprehensible so that we may all understand it, we should ratify the agreement under which we have been working since the first day of May, 1887; then there would be no misunderstanding. Otherwise we might have the same troubles we had last year in arranging in the districts in Ohio, and probably in Pennsylvania, that are paying a higher rate than the Hocking valley. We pay at Steubenville, from the first of May last, 70 cents; from the first of November to the first of May, this year, 75 cents. Now if you only ratify the arrangement that took effect on the first day of May, 1887, and make that the rule from the first day of May, 1888, until the first day of May, 1889, then we will all understand it and there will be no misapprehension either on the part of the miners or operators.

The Chairman—If you will allow the chair to read the resolution of last year it may throw some light on the matter. The resolution is as follows:

“Resolved, That an advance of 5 cents per ton in mining rates take effect on May 1, 1887, and remain in force till November 1, or until the districts named in the scale have complied with its provisions. When this is complied with the interstate board shall authorize an additional advance.”

Mr. Chapman—There was no intention, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, on the part of the committee that there should be any condition similar to those attached to that, as I understood it, to the scale of last year; that the interstate committee had any control other than this: than that all districts should comply with the scale adopted.

Mr. Robbins—That was the understanding of the committee.

Mr. Chapman—The resolution has no reference to the scale of last year whatever; it only applies to the base scale of this year.

Colonel Rend—I think we are wasting time in battling with shadows. We have all pledged ourselves in good faith to carry out the scale. There is no use in loading down the problem with conditions; the best bond is good faith, and this must be kept uppermost.

Secretary Evans—In order that there may be no misunderstanding in regard to the resolution, I would say that as it is presented here it has no connection with that of last year. Neither is there any provisions or conditions attached to it. It is as follows:

“Resolved, That the scale price from May 1, 1888, to November 1, 1888, shall be 5 cents per ton above scale base adopted by this convention, and 10 cents per ton above scale base from November 1, 1888, until May 1, 1889.”

The scale is as follows:

From May 1, 1888, to November 1, 1888: Hocking, 65 cents per ton; Pittsburg district, 74 cents per ton; Reynoldsville and Fairmount, 70 cents per ton; Indiana block, 85 cents per ton; Indiana bituminous, 70 cents per ton. From November 1, 1888, to May 1, 1889: Hocking, 70 cents per ton; Pittsburg district, 79 cents per ton; Reynoldsville and Fairmount, 75 cents per ton; Indiana block, 90 cents per ton; Indiana bituminous, 75 cents per ton.

Mr. Penna—I hope that the remarks in reference to those prices being paid in the various districts don't mean that in cases where inequalities and deficiencies are being paid that they shall cease to be paid. We have adopted this resolution, it is true, with an understanding that where inequalities and deficiencies are being paid they shall continue to be paid, and when the resolution is carried I have a resolution to introduce to this convention.

Mr. Chapman—Mr. Evans, in reading his prices as they would be for the different periods for the coming year, used the word “base” in the place of “price,” which was neglected in the reading of the resolution or scale. He did not say “price.”

Resolution re-read by the secretary.

"Resolved, That the scale price from May 1, 1888, to November 1, 1888, shall be 5 cents per ton above the scale base adopted by this convention, and 10 cents per ton above the scale base from November 1, 1888, to May 1, 1889."

Mr. Chapman—In reading it before you used the word "price" instead of "base."

Mr. Johnson—I have seconded the adoption of this resolution with the understanding that there was nothing coupled onto it. The remarks being made by some members of the committee convince me that they wish to attach some conditions to it which I do not feel disposed, on the part of the Ohio delegation, to accept at present as chairman of the convention which adjourned a little while ago after adopting that resolution. To the committee I say there will be no conditions agreed to in this convention except it be understood that we don't propose to take on us a load that we can not carry, to wit: That where there are places not paying scale prices that we are to bring them up to the scale provisions, but we will pledge ourselves to do our best to get them there. I think that you are aware that our conduct during the past year has shown that so far as we have been able to do it we have done excellently and the best we could. If that resolution is to be offered with any encumbrances—because if I were going to buy property with a clear title and no encumbrances, I must be satisfied of that fact—and I want this in the same shape, and I think the other gentlemen coincide with what I say, so that we will understand ourselves.

Mr. Conway—I move you that this question be laid on the table until the resolution that Mr. Penna now has to offer to the convention has been acted on. It is one that has a bearing on the question under consideration.

The Chairman—I must declare that motion out of order.

Mr. Conway—A motion to lay on the table is in order.

Colonel Yeoman—I would call for the reading of Mr. Penna's resolution in order to see whether it is germane to the subject under consideration, and whether it can be made a part of this scale matter.

Mr. Penna—It can. It reads as follows. The chairman will readily see why I offer it. It is to make provisions for after conciliation and arbitration:

"Resolved, That the prices named in the scale shall apply to coal of average working thickness, clear of all obstruction."

Colonel Yeoman—As I understand this resolution and the way—

The Chairman—I must call the gentlemen to order as the resolution is not yet the property of the convention.

Colonel Yeoman—The gentleman on the part of the miners claims that the scale is without condition. The only conditions that we have had were disputes outside of informal talk that we had in the committee. I am speaking now of the operators. We agreed to this report on the part of the operators governing the existing state of affairs in regard to the plants that are now working under the scale or idle on account of not working under the scale. That is to say, that it will not be proper for persons who are working under the scale of the former years under this to be compelled to pay deficiencies in the future that they have not been paying the past year. But that they will continue to work their mines under the same regulations with their plants, under the same condition, paying as they have been paying in the past year. That is the way we understand it on the part of the operators.

Mr. Gray—I would like to state what was said in the committee. After we had taken the vote the young gentleman who acted as secretary in that committee said that it was passed with the understanding of the committee that they would carry out—

Mr. Robbins—I wish to state that the gentleman is entirely wrong.

Colonel Yeoman—Well, if I am wrong I stand the correction. The chairman of that meeting got up and said that he always did that. Now there were no incumbrances referred to at all. I understood that it would be carried out according to the laws of the association, and if the young gentleman understood it otherwise than that he did not put it in any other shape.

Colonel Rend—I think it is perhaps a part of wisdom, of sound sense, to act on this resolution without introducing a lot of conditions, because if we do the Lord knows we won't get through this month. I have a number of grievances, but I do not bring them up here. I try to argue them out with my miners. A great many others have the same. Now we can provide for all these matters, which are largely local, by leaving them to boards of arbitration. My matters are small matters which can be settled in that way, will be adjusted in that manner. I can draw out before you fifty different ones that have to be settled in some way or other, and will be settled. Let us adopt this scale the same as last year. These little matters will take care of themselves. Now I ask you, in the name of the movement, in the spirit of conciliation and harmony, to act on this scale and we will adjust all these things in a fair and equitable way, and all will be satisfied.

The secretary having been called upon to read the resolution, the question was called for and put, and the following vote was taken:

Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana miners vote aye; Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana operators vote aye. The result is announced by the secretary and greeted with applause.

Mr. Chapman—I move that this convention do now adjourn to meet in the city of Indianapolis on the first Tuesday of February, 1889.

Colonel Yeoman—I desire to second that motion, and I desire to extend to the members of the next convention, on behalf of the State of Indiana and on behalf of the city of Indianapolis, a hearty welcome. We will be able, I think, by the time the next convention meets, to show them more gas in the city of Indianapolis than they ever dreamed or heard tell of. We will take them on a drive around the belt road and we will have it brilliantly illuminated for their special benefit, and I will give them a banquet. (Applause.)

Colonel Rend—I move a vote of thanks be tendered to the chairman of this convention, who has presided over us with much kindness, fairness, justice and impartiality.

Mr. Penna—I will second that motion, although I cannot indorse all you said in that motion. Motion carried.

Mr. Harris—I desire to offer the following resolution:

“Whereas, heretofore, when it has become necessary for portions of this competitive district to go on strike for the enforcement of scale wages agreed upon by operators and miners in convention, the contracts have been made by other operators in said district. As a consequence of which our miners have been defeated in the object sought to be obtained; therefore, be it

“Resolved, That we, as operators in convention assembled, do pledge ourselves to render the miners all the moral and financial support within our power to enforce scale rates by blank refusal to fill any contract for operators who refuse to pay scale rates in this competitive district.”

The Chair—That resolution is to be passed by operators. This is a convention of miners as well as operators, and it is therefore out of order.

Mr. Penna—I move that a vote of thanks be tendered to the secretaries and stenographers to this convention. Motion carried.

Colonel Yeoman—I now renew my motion to adjourn to meet on the first Tuesday of February, 1889, at 10 o'clock a. m., in the city of Indianapolis, Indiana. Motion carried.

Resolution and Scale of Prices Adopted.

Resolved, That the scale prices from May 1, 1888, to November 1, 1888, shall be 5 cents per ton above the scale base adopted by this convention, and 10 cents per ton above scale base from November 1, 1888, to May 1, 1889. The prices for the ensuing year shall be as follows:

	Scale base.	May 1, to Nov. 1, 1888.	Nov. 1, 1888, to May 1, 1889.
Hocking -----	60	65	70
Pittsburg district --	60	65	70
Reynoldsville and Fairmont -----	65	70	75
Indiana, block ----	80	85	90
Indiana, bituminous	65	70	75

Very truly yours,

CHRIS EVANS, Secretary.

A. DEMPSTER, President.

List of Delegates in Attendance.

Pennsylvania Operators—D. M. Anderson, Venetia; Frank Armstrong, Bower Hill; William Beadling, Essen, Allegheny county; W. A. Black, Pittsburg; John Blythe, Pittsburg; J. B. Cook, "Cooks," Washington county; Wm. P. De Armitt, Pittsburg; A. Dempster, Pittsburg; Thomas Dickson, Pittsburg; Edward Fisher, Pittsburg; Henry Florsheim, Finleyville, Washington county; John L. George, Pittsburg; S. B. Gregg, Woodville, Allegheny county; Roger Hartley, Pittsburg; J. Morton Hall, Pittsburg; Judge H. Hice, Beaver; F. R. Layng, Pittsburg; Robert Latimer, West Newton; Samuel McCrickart, Pittsburg; W. J. Morgan, Pittsburg; William McCreary, Pittsburg; John E. McCrickart, Pittsburg; F. M. Osborne, Cleveland, Ohio; E. W. Powers, ———; Alex. Patterson, McDonald; D. Reisinger, Pittsburg; T. B. Robbins; Pittsburg; F. L. Robbins, Pittsburg; W. P. Rend, Chicago; John H. Risher, Pittsburg; E. Saeger, Cleveland, Ohio; N. F. Sanford, Pittsburg; J. D. Santer, Pittsburg; Jas. Shields, West Newton; A. J. Schulte, Pittsburg; J. B. Scully, Pittsburg; J. J. Steytler, Pittsburg; W. J. Steen, Essen; Geo. W. Schluederberg, Pittsburg; R. T. Wallace, Pittsburg.

Ohio Operators—M. Fox, New Straitsville; J. D. Whitmore, Dayton; Moses Morgan, Jackson; S. Granger, Cleveland; S. D. Morgan, Coalton; C. D. Woodward, Nelsonville;

D. McGarry, Cleveland; R. Haslop & Co., Bellaire; G. C. Robinson, Bellaire; S. J. Patterson, Dayton; J. A. Beidler, Cleveland; S. Reybould, New Straitsville; Joseph Slater, Nelsonville; C. D. Matthews, Columbus; Robt. Stalter, New Straitsville; J. C. Martin, Nelsonville; J. S. Taft, Columbus; A. Brenholtz, Columbus; H. D. Marble, Cleveland; W. M. Johnston, —————; Moses D. Jones, Jackson; H. D. Turney, Columbus; J. D. Hurd, Cincinnati; Morrison Foster, Allegheny City, Pa.; J. F. Hall, Jackson, Frank Lasley, Wellston, L. R. Doty, Columbus; M. D. Jones, Jackson; J. Morrow, Ennis, Jackson county; D. D. Dungan, Jackson. Theo Fluhart, Wellston; James Redding, Dayton; T. W. Roderick, Jackson; E. Crandall, Jackson; M. A. Barbour, Toledo; W. M. Johnston, Jackson; John Hippel, Coalton; W. L. Hoyt, Toledo; S. J. Patterson, Dayton; John Bustard, Steubenville; E. T. Jones, Jackson; Moses Morgan, Jackson; L. R. Doty, Columbus; M. D. Jones, Jackson; J. C. Kyle, Jackson; J. F. Shook, Coalton; A. J. McCartney, Youngstown; F. M. Lasley, Jackson; J. J. McKittrick, Jackson; E. B. Willard, Hanging Rock; H. S. Willard, Wellston; James Mullins, North Lawrence; J. A. Anderson, Cleveland; V. H. Benton, Jackson; James A. Hall, H. C. Stanwood, Columbus; Oscar Townsend, Cleveland; S. J. Long, Jackson; W. P. Rend, Chicago, Ill.; O. Meehan, Stewartsville; G. W. McCook, Steubenville; J. S. Mullins, Wooster; J. C. Hamilton, Shawnee; H. L. Chapman, Springfield; Isaac Brown, Jackson; W. L. Caton, Dayton; J. A. Beidler, Cleveland; W. G. Wasson, Indianapolis, Indiana; F. C. Goff, Cleveland; R. S. Weitzell, Kittanning; A. J. Baggs, Bridgeport; T. J. Morgan, Wellston; F. M. Osborne, Cleveland; George Gilleland, Jackson; W. F. Upson, Shawnee; J. M. Walters, Peoria, Illinois; J. M. Ferris, Toledo; W. B. Brooks, Jr., Columbus; J. C. Allen, Cleveland; V. H. Benton, Jackson; J. S. Morton, Columbus; G. C. Hadley, Toledo; J. E. Martin, Toledo; Charles Morgan, Oak Hill; F. P. Austin, Wellston; R. Barnecut, Nelsonville.

Indiana Operators—S. M. Pollock, Jackson, Ohio; S. N. Yeoman, Island City; Jos. Martin, Rosedale; John Watson, Brazil; H. W. Perry, Brazil; J. S. Tally, Fontanet; D. J. Jenne, Brazil; George Kaufman, Washington; David Ingle.

Ayrshire; J. C. Townsend, Whitman; M. A. Johnston, Brazil; Frank Richards, Shelburn; Edward Wilton, Brazil; P. H. Blue, Sullivan; Geo. C. Richards, Sullivan.

Pennsylvania Miners—John Costello, Pittsburg; Wm. Barnes, Federal P. O., Allegheny county; Wm. Barker, Mansfield; Chas. Cain, McDonald Station, Washington county; Mich. Pendergast, Walkers Mill, Allegheny county; Matthew Herron, Walkers Mill, Allegheny county; Jere Kennedy, Gastonville, Washington county; Jas. Logue, Shaner Station, Allegheny county; John Winning, Scott Haven, Westmoreland county; Patrick McBryde, Shire Oaks; Patterson Ruppert, Scott Haven, Westmoreland county; John Cain, Banksville, Allegheny county; Jos. Shaming, Mansfield, Allegheny county; Peter Collins, Federal P. O., Allegheny county; Job Conway, Greenock, Allegheny county; James Maize, McDonald, Washington county; Richard Adams, West Newton, Westmoreland county; John Brundage, West Newton, Westmoreland county; Chas. Fulicks, McDonald, Washington county; David Mackey, Spring Hill, Allegheny county; Geo. Harris, Reynoldsville; Fred. Reilther, Jackson Centre, Mercer county; Wm. B. Wilson, Blossburg; James McCutcheon, Elk Lick; Daniel Brown, Irwin Station; J. W. Kilduff; Joseph Dixon; S. A. Meyers; Thos. Proudman, Essen; Henry Northover, Phillipsburg; Jno. F. Farrell, Houtzdale; Jno. B. Rea, Coalmount; Thos. Parry; John Ross; James Paxton, Mansfield; Wm. H. Smith, Hugh Tennant, Bridgeville, Allegheny county.

West Virginia Miners—J. Robert Foster, Pryor; Mich. F. Moran; Thos. Parry.

Ohio Miners—Chris Evans, New Straitsville; John McBride, Massillon; Alex. Johnston, Nelsonville; John H. Taylor, New Straitsville; W. H. Bassett, Wadsworth; James Nelson, Corning; W. H. Turner, Cambridge; Andrew Brown, Nelsonville; Mich. Lyons, Buchtel; Eugene Boody, Wellston; John Phillips, Steubenville; Wm. T. Lewis, Shawnee; Lewis James, Columbus; Thos. P. James, Shawnee; Thos. Cole, Glen Roy; L. M. Beatty, Sherrodsville; David H. Davis, Mineral Ridge; F. M. Tollet, Stewartsville; Redmond Doran, Washingtonville; James McKee, Salineville.

Indiana Miners—Daniel Crane, Roseville; David Murdock, Rosedale; Chas. T. Welsh, Shelburn; Thos. Faulds, Henwood; James White, Coalbluff; William J. Hamilton, Linton; D. L. Davis, Island City; Thomas Patterson, Fontanet; James Cantwell, Carbon; John Kenet; John Kane, Dugger; T. F. Balser, Whitman; Jno. M. Roberts, Clinton; Frank Lockhart, Ayrshire; P. H. Penna, Carbon.

Illinois Miners—Daniel McLaughlin, Braidwood; P. H. Donnelly, Springfield; David Ross, Oglesby; T. H. Dougherty, Duquoin; Wm. Purdy, Gardner; John Owens, Canton; Albert Coop, Braidwood; John Searmouth, Barclay; Wm. Long, Spring Valley; Henry Carroll, Clark City.

NATIONAL BOARD OF ARBITRATION.

OPERATORS :

D. J. JENNE, Brazil, Indiana.

J. C. TOWNSEND, Whitman, Indiana.

OSCAR TOWNSEND, Cleveland, Ohio.

H. L. CHAPMAN, Springfield, Ohio.

JOHN BLYTHE, Pittsburg, Pa.

GEORGE SCHLUDERBERG, Pittsburg, Pa.

MINERS :

JAMES CANTWELL, Carbon, Indiana.

P. H. PENNA, Carbon, Indiana.

JOHN MCBRIDE, Massillon, Ohio.

W. T. LEWIS, Columbus, Ohio.

JOHN D. CONWAY, Greenock, Pa.

PATRICK MCBRYDE, Shire Oaks, Pa.

SECRETARY :

CHRIS EVANS, New Straitsville, Ohio.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

JOINT CIRCULAR OF MINERS' OFFICIALS, NATIONAL DISTRICT
ASSEMBLY NO. 135, KNIGHTS OF LABOR, AND OHIO
MINERS' AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION.

To the Miners and Mine Laborers of Hocking and Jackson Districts:

The following letter and proposition explains the object of the circular:

Columbus, Ohio, April 16, 1888.

HONORABLE JOHN MCBRIDE, President: .

Dear Sir—The accompanying proposition is made you for the following reasons: The cost of the production of pig iron at the present time is above the market price. This we can easily demonstrate to you by our books, but we do not desire to take your time now by an array of figures. What we propose does not place us in a position to make money, but we hope would enable us to operate our furnaces without absolute loss. The new basis of furnace mining and labor could only affect the Jackson and Hocking districts, tributary to which there are not to exceed twelve furnaces out of the whole number in the country. All other competing districts use coke as fuel, the Mahoning valley obtaining theirs at a much less price per ton of iron than we can put our own coal into our furnaces, even at the prices proposed by us. At a low estimate, 2,000 men are given employment in various capacities by our furnaces, and it is our desire, as we believe it is your own, to keep these men at work if it is possible to do so. The net saving in the cost of production of pig iron in the Hocking valley with digging and labor, on the basis of \$16.50 iron, which is now about the market price, would be 56 cents per ton. In Jackson county it would be 82 cents per ton, the difference in the two districts arising by reason of Hocking using a certain percentage of coke, whereas Jackson uses but a small amount or scarcely any at all. The above reduction in coal, with the lower price of freight and other material, we believe, would put us in position to operate our furnaces during the coming year. Without the reduction in coal it is our belief that almost every one of the twelve furnaces will be out of blast as soon as present stocks are worked up. We estimate that the amount of lump coal used in the furnaces in the two districts now in operation will average fully 25,000 tons monthly. The question for you to decide is whether the

miners and laborers you represent can or can not mine this coal at the prices we propose in order to keep the industries in operation. Yours truly,

H. L. CHAPMAN, For Jackson District.

H. D. TURNEY, For Hocking District.

Columbus, Ohio, April 16, 1888.

To the Furnace Miners and Mine Laborers:

We desire to submit to you the following proposition to govern miners and mine laborers in furnace mines. Basing the price on the cash price at the furnace of No. 1, Gore iron, for the Hocking valley, and No. 1, Jackson county, for the Jackson district, we agree to pay, when these grades of iron sell at prices between \$16.50 and \$17.50, 15 cents below commercial mining. When the same grades sell between \$17.50 and \$18.50, 10 cents below commercial mining. When between \$18.50 and \$19.50, 5 cents below commercial mining. When above \$19.50, full commercial rates, and in no case more than 15 cents under commercial rates. The prices for entry driving and labor to be upon the same relative basis as for digging; the price to be paid in any month, as the books of the companies may show the sales of the preceding month; the miners and mine laborers to appoint a committee of three, who may examine the books at any convenient time to satisfy themselves with regard to the price obtained.

H. D. TURNEY, for Hocking Valley District.

H. L. CHAPMAN, for Jackson District.

At the request of President McBride, John H. Taylor, Alex. Johnson and Samuel Llewelyn of the Ohio Miners Amalgamated Association, and W. T. Lewis, Lewis James and Thomas P. James of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, met in Columbus, Ohio, on April 18, 1888, and after consultation decided to recommend that the subject matter contained in the letter and proposition given above should be submitted to mass meetings of miners and mine laborers of the two districts to be held at the following named places: Jackson, Coalton, Wellston, Glen Roy, Monday, Jobs, Buchtel, Nelsonville, New Straitsville and Shawnee. Said meetings to be held on Thursday, April 26, 1888, at 2 o'clock, p. m.

We would further recommend that action be taken in the following order:

1. Do you favor the proposition as submitted?

2. If so, are you in favor of adopting a sliding scale for furnace mining upon a basis independent from that upon which commercial mining rates are based?

3. Are you in favor of a change under any consideration of the uniform rates heretofore governing mining at furnace and commercial mines?

4. If you favor any change upon a sliding scale, are you willing to allow the officials of the two organizations to meet the operators and arrange a scale, which before going into force shall be submitted for your acceptance or rejection?

After reaching a decision, the president and secretary of each meeting shall record and certify to the result, and immediately transmit the same to Thomas P. James, Lock Box 43, Shawnee, Ohio, for the Hocking district, and Samuel Llewellyn, Coalton, Jackson county, Ohio, for the Jackson district.

Respectfully submitted,

W. T. LEWIS, LEWIS JAMES, THOMAS P. JAMES,

For N. D. A. 135, K. of L.

JOHN MCBRIDE, ALEX. JOHNSON, JOHN H. TAYLOR,

SAMUEL LLEWELYN,

For the O. M. A. A.

On inquiry being made as to prices of iron, in the meantime, the following letter was received:

Pittsburg, April 25, 1888.

Mr. Chris Evans:

My Dear Sir—The quotations at furnace are not given, the market rate being published at the points of consumption. The Pittsburg monthly averages for No. 1 Grey forge are:

1886

Highest (December) ----- \$19.00

Lowest (August) ----- 15.50

1888

Highest (January) ----- \$17.75

Lowest (April) ----- 15.75

From this the freight and salvage, sixty-eight pounds per ton, and commission would be allowed, to get the price at furnace.

Very truly,

CHARLES G. FOSTER,

For *National Labor Tribune*.

For several years efforts had been made on the part of operators to have coal mined at lower rates at the furnace mines than were being paid at the commercial mines in the Hocking valley district but without success. On the returns made from the joint circular issued, signed by the officers of

both miners' organizations, asking the miners to decide for themselves whether or not they were in favor of accepting the conditions named in the circular for Jackson county and the Hocking valley districts, the proposition was rejected, largely because of the belief that to accept lower prices for mining at furnace mines it would always act as a standing menace for reduced rates at the commercial mines.

In February, 1888, the Federated Association of Miners and Mine Laborers of West Virginia elected W. H. Toler president for the State, M. F. Moran vice-president and I. J. Mason secretary-treasurer. The first district officers elected were Philip Golden, president, and Thomas Farry, secretary-treasurer.

Later in April, for reasons believed to be for the best interest of the miners' organization, W. H. Toler was removed from the presidency and M. F. Moran was elected president and James Kennedy vice-president.

In the early part of the year 1888 the Iowa miners suffered many indignities imposed upon them because of their unorganized condition. Later, on the 10th day of May, they organized a State union and elected J. J. Sullivan president.

The Mine Laborers' Amalgamated Association of District No. 3, in the coke regions of western Pennsylvania, held their annual demonstration at Scottdale on May 30, 1888. It was a great gathering of coke workers, under the intrepid leadership of William Mullen, the district secretary.

Daniel McLaughlin, president of the Illinois miners, and Chris Evans, executive secretary of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, addressed the meeting. Later, in July Daniel McLaughlin made an extended tour through the anthracite coal field in the interest of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers.

On the 29th day of June, 1888, a reunion of the miners of District No. 6 of the Ohio Miners' Amalgamated Association was held at Maynard, Ohio, and the miners, with their wives and families were there enjoying themselves in great numbers.

ANOTHER HOCKING VALLEY EFFORT TO TRY TO HARMONIZE
THE TWO FACTIONS OF ORGANIZED MINERS.

National Labor Tribune:

Glouster, Ohio, June 3, 1888.

We had a mass meeting Saturday, June 2, and I think it was as grand a meeting as I have attended for some time. The Nortonville brass band was on hand. We had some of our officers of the Knights of Labor and the Ohio Miners' Amalgamated Association. Chris Evans opened the meeting with a fine speech, followed by T. P. James, G. Scott and Alexander Johnson. The meeting ended with the best of feeling.

Signed, PROMPT PAY.

THE JOHN SINEY MONUMENT FUND.

St. Clair, Pennsylvania, June 30, 1888.

At a meeting of the Miners' and Laborers' Amalgamated Association of the anthracite coal region, held on Wednesday, June 27, 1888, the following resolution was passed: "Resolved, That the secretary be directed to communicate with the proprietors of the *National Labor Tribune* and request them to forward money collected and held by them for the Siney Monument fund.

RICHARD NORTHEY, President.
DANIEL DUFFY, Secretary.

In compliance with the request made, the *National Labor Tribune* acknowledged the sum of \$157.19 cents received by them to date.

Of this amount, the following contributions had been made:

W. S. Waudby, \$1; William West, \$1; Henry Evans, 50 cents; Ohio Miners' Amalgamated Association, \$50; delegates to Ohio miners' State convention, \$37.75; miners of Spring Valley, Illinois, \$28; on September 26, delegates to National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers' convention, \$22.60, per John McBride.

The dual sentiment of preferences made toward the two miners' national unions in the sunny South were pretty clearly defined at a meeting held at Birmingham, Alabama, July 20, 1888, at which 1645 miners and mine laborers were represented. A partial report follows:

On motion, that we organize a federation of miners and mine laborers of the State of Alabama. Amended that the K. of L., S. D. A. No. 10, be the organization of the State of Alabama. Amendment lost. Previous motion carried; 310 in favor of K. of L. No. 10 and 1335 in favor of the federation. Officers were next nominated for the State federation, and the nominees were referred back to the miners and mine laborers to be acted upon and the vote returned to the next convention to be held on Saturday, August 4. The following is a list of the names presented for State officers: W. R. Fairley, of Blue Creek, president; A. J. Prince, Pratt mines, secretary; T. J. McKenzie of Warrier, treasurer; executive board at large, John Dobbins of Blockton, John Gallagher of Pratt mines and G. Lusk of Wheeling.

CALL FOR A NATIONAL CONVENTION

General Office National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, New Straitsville, Ohio, July 30.

To the Miners and Mine Laborers of the United States and Territories, greeting:

In compliance with the constitution of the national federation, you are hereby notified that the fourth annual convention of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers will be held in the city of Indianapolis, Indiana, commencing Tuesday, September 4, 1888, at 2 o'clock p. m.

The representation will be one delegate to each 100 members or the fractional part thereof from the various local, district and State unions that pay the per capita assessments as provided for in the constitution of the national federation; and all miners and mine laborers not heretofore represented will be allowed representation by paying the same fees as prescribed in the constitution for new members; but no representation will be allowed unless the above provisions are complied with.

The constitution provides that at the annual convention of the association there shall be elected by the delegates present one executive secretary, one treasurer and a general executive board.

It has been suggested that the offices of secretary and treasurer be combined. All delegates will please come instructed to vote on any changes their constituents desire to make. As soon as delegates are elected secretaries will fill out the stub attached to the credentials and return the same to the general office, New Straitsville, Ohio.

The prospects for the representation of additional States this year is very encouraging, and we trust that all States will be fully represented. Very truly yours,

CHRIS EVANS, Executive Secretary.

The national convention will be held in the Workingmen's Hall, 115½ East Washington street.

National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, held their annual convention at Cleveland, Ohio, August 14, 1888. Officers elected: national master workman, William T. Lewis; worthy foreman, John B. Rae; secretary-treasurer, Robert Watchorn.

It was decided that the next annual meeting should be held at Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, third Wednesday in September, 1889.

JOINT AGREEMENT OF OPERATORS AND MINERS ON RELATIVE
PRICES OF PICK AND MACHINE MINING IN HOCKING
VALLEY, OHIO, AUGUST 21, 1888.

This agreement, entered into this 21st day of August, 1888, by and between the machine operators and the committee of the miners,

Witnesseth, That taking effect on September 1, 1888, the following shall be the schedule of prices for the classes of work specified, viz.:

When the price of pick mining is 65 cents per ton at mines in the Hocking valley and T. & O. C. districts, loading in rooms shall be 32½ cents per ton, when the drilling is done by the operator; 35½ cents when the loading and drilling are both done by the miner. Loading in entries shall be 41 cents per ton when the drilling is done by the operator, and 44 cents per ton when both drilling and loading are done by the miner. The price for break-throughs between entries shall be the same as for entry work. The price for loading in break-throughs between rooms shall be 6 cents per ton above the price for loading in rooms, or 38½ cents when the drilling is done by the operator, and 41½ cents when done by the miner.

When the pick prices advance for mining to 70 cents per ton, the price of loading in rooms shall be 35 cents per ton when drilling is done by the operator, and 38 cents per ton when done by the miner.

Loading in entries shall be $43\frac{1}{2}$ cents per ton when drilling is done by the operator, and $46\frac{1}{2}$ cents when done by the miner.

Loading in break-throughs shall be 41 cents and 44 cents per ton, respectively, according to whether drilling is done by the operator or miner.

The price for cutting to remain as at present until rates of wages in pick mines shall be over 70 cents per ton.

The price for room turning shall be \$1.25 per room extra over the regular room prices for loading, and where the cutting is done by the ton the cutter shall also receive 50 cents per room extra for turning each room.

Committee for miners—

JOHN MERRIDETH.
JOHN H. TAYLOR.
THOMAS P. JAMES.

Committee for operators—

W. P. REND.
W. B. BROOKS.
GEORGE W. BRASHEARS,

for Consolidated Mining Company.

WILLIAM JOB.
THOMAS CORCORAN,

Agent for Sunday Creek Coal Company.

H. D. TURNEY,

Vice-President Columbus & Hocking Coal & Iron Co.

CHAPTER XXIX.

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE FEDERATION OF MINERS AND MINE LABORERS OF THE UNITED STATES AND TERRITORIES, HELD AT INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA, SEPTEMBER 4-6, 1888, AT WORKINGMEN'S HALL, 115½ EAST WASHINGTON STREET.

Indianapolis, Indiana, September 4, 1888.

The convention was called to order by the executive secretary, Christopher Evans of New Straitsville, Ohio, at 2 o'clock p. m., who stated in a few well-chosen remarks the objects of the meeting, after which the executive secretary appointed the following committee on credentials: P. H. Donnelly of Illinois, Ebenezer Lewis of Ohio and Michael F. Moran of West Virginia.

A recess was then declared in order to allow the committee time to report.

On reassembling the committee on credentials reported, through Chairman Donnelly, the following delegates entitled to seats in the convention: Daniel McLaughlin, P. H. Donnelly, John Young, John Donohue, William Hawthorne, Andrew Bourke, William Reynolds, John Howells, Alfred Penn, William Gardner, Michael F. Moran, P. H. Penna, James Cantwell, Samuel Linn, George Potter, Burton Vanhook, James McGovern, John Kane, James Harris, John S. Davis, J. C. Hamilton, Henry Krieckenbaum, John McBride, Alexander Johnson, Ebenezer Lewis, John H. Taylor, Chris Evans, Samuel Llewellyn, Dennis Moylan, John Cox, Richard J. Jones, Charles Boudinot, William H. Turner, William Nixon, John A. Peddicord, John Thomas and John E. Short.

On motion, the report was received and committee retained, after which the following officers of the convention were elected: P. H. Penna of Indiana chairman, Chris Evans of Ohio secretary, and P. H. Donnelly of Illinois assistant secretary.

On taking the chair, President P. H. Penna made a few timely suggestions on the business of the convention and the necessity of guarding well the interests of the constituents represented.

The executive secretary then submitted to the convention the annual report of the national executive board. The report

gave a full history of the work done by the board during the year, and, on motion, was referred to the proper committee.

The following brief account is taken from the report:

"To the Representatives of the Fourth Annual Convention of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers:

"In making this report we are not unmindful of the fact that the duties entrusted to our care during the past year have been of such vast importance to the mining interest as to require diligent work on our part to meet the necessities and do justice to the constituents we represent. In the discharge of these duties we have endeavored to perform them in such a manner as in our best judgment would advance the cause in which we have been engaged.

"At the close of the last annual session, September 8, 1887, your executive board held their first annual meeting and organized for the work before them. The question of the condition of the southern Illinois miners and the effect it would have on the establishment of scale prices on November 1 was freely discussed, and the board decided to engage Brothers Alexander Johnson of Ohio and P. H. Penna of Indiana to go to the central and southern Illinois coal fields to try and organize the miners of those districts and establish better prices, as the advanced rate of mining of 5 cents per ton on November 1, according to the joint agreement, depended on an advanced rate of mining in the districts referred to.

"The next meeting of the board was held at Columbus, Ohio, November 14, 1887. On the above date a joint meeting of the national board of arbitration and conciliation was held to consider the question of granting 5 cents per ton advance on November 1, in accordance with the provisions made. After a spirited discussion on the subject the advance was granted to the miners of Indiana, Ohio and western Pennsylvania. The operators of Illinois refused to take any part in the proceedings.

"On November 16 and 17 a joint meeting was held between the two executive boards, National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, and the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, to consider the resolution adopted at our last meeting, held September 6-8, 1887, on the question of issuing a call for a national convention of miners and mine laborers, regardless of existing organizations. Our inability to accomplish this at that time is a matter of history and well known to the members of our craft, hence any further comments on the question from us is unnecessary at present.

"The third and last meeting was held at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, on February 6-10, 1888. Several consultations were held at this time to consider the best means of establishing a scale of prices for the present year. The result has been made public and is familiar to all. The question of creating a defense fund was carefully considered and action deferred until some future date. In the work assigned us our aim has been to deal with all questions in the line of justice and on business principles. The work is now before you. Examine it carefully and do justice to the cause.

"Respectfully submitted,

"JOHN MCBRIDE, Chairman.

"CHRIS EVANS, Secretary."

The executive secretary's third annual report was next submitted and referred to the proper committee, and ordered published in full with the proceedings of the convention:

ADDRESS OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF MINERS AND MINE LABORERS TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FOURTH ANNUAL CONVENTION, HELD AT INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA, SEPTEMBER 4, 1888.

"To the Representatives in Convention Assembled:

"For the fourth time the chosen representatives of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers have assembled together to exchange views on the past, present and future conditions of the members of the mining craft. I trust that past experience will guide our thoughts and help us to act wisely on all questions that require our present attention, and that the conclusions reached will enable us to share the benefits of a brighter future.

"In submitting my third annual report, I desire to call your attention to a few questions that have occurred to my mind as being worthy of your consideration. The principles upon which our organization was founded present a platform broad enough for all to unite and build a structure well worthy the cause it represents; but to carry out these principles successfully, earnest and energetic work is required by all alike. The active services of the members are just as necessary as the zealous duties of the officials. The one is helpless without the aid of the other, and a lack of these duties on the part of either proves detrimental to the interest in general.

"The national federation embarked on its mission of reform about three years ago, and while struggling to fulfill that mission, its ardent advocates, imbued with a spirit of

unflinching fidelity to the cause, have often shared the abuse and unpleasantness of unjust criticism, but through their never-failing confidence in the ultimate triumph of the just principles advocated they have borne the compound insolence of the contumely with the best grace possible, believing that as time rolled on their acts would be justified and in the end the masses would profit by the sacrifices made.

"When we look back a few years and compare the business methods adopted in the coal trade, then and now, between the employer and the employed, we have cause to feel grateful that the federated movement came into existence and placed the coal trade in the position it now occupies. It is true that the condition of our miners is far from what it should be, but that the principles promulgated by our organization have brought about a much better state of affairs no one will question. The majority of our miners and mine laborers are so negligent, however, that they lose sight of all danger, either to themselves or those around them until the iron heel of oppression is stamped so heavily upon them that they are forced to pause, and afterward wonder why the weight is so burdensome. If such individuals would only pause in time, and of their own free will take a part in the necessary preparations, such shocks would be less frequent and, as a consequence, less troublesome to the masses. The present competition in the coal trade is such as to require more vigorous work among the unorganized members of our trade. While our organization has proved its ability to conduct the business affairs of the mining craft in several States, there are other States that are becoming dangerous competitors, and their unorganized condition is taken advantage of and often used and made the most powerful weapon against us. The future welfare of the organized miners demands that we make greater efforts to strengthen our forces in unorganized coal fields, and without financial provisions we can not accomplish the object in view. An assessment of 10 cents per member per month for three months would, in my judgment, be a profitable investment for the purpose of engaging a few teachers to instruct the miners in unorganized States the principles of the Federation and the necessity of a more thorough organization in order that we might be better prepared to protect the general interest, the question of assessment to be submitted to the members for their approval or rejection.

"The joint movement between miners and operators to meet and adjust a scale of prices annually in all States where coal is produced is worthy of encouragement. The conclusions reached at the three joint annual meetings that have been held have demonstrated very clearly the advantages to

be derived by this method, and an extension of its workings into other States that have not yet jointly agreed upon it would evidently produce good results to the miners employed and contribute largely toward preventing the unwise competition of operators that have done so much to demoralize prices and injure the trade. The propriety of consulting each other's interests, either on scale prices or any other matters connected with the trade, has been made manifest to all, and a continuation of the system should receive the hearty support of our miners in general.

"The question of reducing the hours of labor in and around the coal mines is one of long standing, and its advocates have struggled hard to accomplish the much-desired end. So far, however, very little progress has been made; but the question is still uppermost in the minds of many and is well worthy the consideration of the toilers in general. In the year 1886 a noble effort was made to inaugurate the eight-hour movement by several organized trades, and in some instances was successful, but a refusal on the part of others to act with them caused many to abandon the object. I believe a reduction of the hours of labor per day in and around the mines is much needed, and that a trial of the eight-hour system would prove far less objectionable to our employers than they are at present willing to concede I have no doubt. Experience teaches us, however, that very few operators are willing to accept the proposition, and the probabilities are that a struggle will ensue before it can be carried into effect, and for this and other reasons it becomes necessary to adopt some means whereby the question can be brought to an issue. Due notice ought to be given to all operators and ample time allowed them to consider the question in all its bearings, and a general move of the mining craft agreed upon in order that the movement might be made a general success.

"The company store or pluck-me system is another source of annoyance in connection with our mines. There are few mining towns where the system is not in vogue, and miners are often made to suffer through its evil influence. In several States laws have been enacted to try and prevent the impositions practiced, and in a few instances have made some little improvements in former methods, while in many others the laws are being constantly violated and are a dead letter so far as being of any real benefit to the miners is concerned. The system works great injury to the miners and ought to be discouraged in every mining region.

"The total abolition of convict labor in our mines is one of the objects of our constitution. Its influence against honest labor in the southern States is very injurious to the miners

and its evil effects are felt at all points where it comes in contact with free labor. The unwholesome influence it carries with it everywhere can only be regarded as one of the greatest evils the miners have to contend with, and whenever the opportunity presents itself, either through legislation or otherwise, the members of our craft would profit much by using their collective influence against it and try to prevent its evil tendencies from spreading in other coal fields. One of the principal objects of our constitution is "to remove as far as possible the cause of strikes and adopt wherever and whenever practicable the principles of arbitration." While we have endeavored to adhere strictly to this principle, we are often confronted with unreasonable propositions from our employers, and in some cases the selfish greed of the unscrupulous ones prevents them from treating with us on any terms. In all such cases, if we would act fairly toward those operators that are inclined to deal fairly with us, there is no alternative but to resist the encroachments and protect the rights of the just against the arbitrary rulings of the unjust by the most honorable means possible.

"There have been many bitter struggles to try and establish pay-days for our miners at shorter intervals, and in several States legislation has given us laws that require payment of wages semi-monthly. The enforcement of the laws, however, have taxed the utmost capacity of our organizations, and in some instances the laws are being entirely ignored. The semi-monthly pay is a powerful weapon against the check or order system that is so prevalent in the transaction of business at company stores, and the opportunity it affords, if taken advantage of by our miners, would soon cripple the traffic in mining towns where two weeks' pay is established. Further legislation is also required to enforce these laws and secure the passage of similar laws where none exist, but to accomplish this end concerted action on the part of all miners is necessary, and no support should be given to any representative that is empowered to make laws unless he can be depended on to introduce just laws on these subjects and render assistance to enforce them.

"In the consideration of the work before you, I trust that the advancement of the general interest will be paramount to all others, that nothing will prevent you from carrying out successfully the important duties you have been intrusted to perform, and that the result of our labors will be of lasting benefit to those we represent.

"Respectfully submitted,

"CHRIS EVANS, Executive Secretary."

A recess was declared in order to allow the chairman time to appoint committees, and on resuming business the chairman appointed the following committees:

On Rules and Order of Business—John E. Short, John Kane and John Donohue.

On Resolutions—James Cantwell, John McBride and John Young.

On Auditing Accounts—William Hawthorne, Ebenezer Lewis and James McGovern.

On Law—Samuel Llewellyn, Burton Vanhook and Andrew Bourke.

The report of the general treasurer, Daniel McLaughlin, was submitted, and, on motion, received and referred to the auditing committee.

Each delegate was then allowed five minutes to explain the status of affairs in their respective localities, which was very interesting.

On the report being made that there were representatives in the city from National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, that desired to make some propositions to the members of the convention, it was moved that a committee of two be appointed to wait upon them and inform them that the convention would be ready to hear from them at 9 o'clock Wednesday morning.

Committee appointed, Alexander Johnson and William Gardner, after which the convention adjourned to meet again at 8 o'clock a. m.

SECOND DAY.

Wednesday Morning Session, September 5, 1888.

Convention called to order at 8 o'clock a. m., with P. H. Penna in the chair. The roll was called, and the secretary read a very interesting letter from William Mullen, secretary of the M. and L. A. A. of Connellsville coke regions, Pennsylvania, and another from Philipsburg, in the same State. Other letters were received from Kansas, Iowa, Missouri, Kentucky, Alabama and Tennessee, asking our aid.

The following is taken from some of the letters referred to:

“Scottdale, Pennsylvania.

“In response to the call issued for the annual convention of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, I have to state that just at present there is a revival in the coke trade, and every effort is being used to reorganize the local. The executive committee decided not to send a delegate to the

convention, but to use the funds on hand to enable us to build up the organization, which we expect to do before the present year is out.

"With best wishes to the officers and delegates, and hoping the convention will be a successful one in establishing and spreading the principles of trades unionism throughout the entire country."

"Philipsburg, Pennsylvania.

"I would suggest that you send a man or two to stir up this region, and you will soon find that their labors will be appreciated and profitable. It affords a good opportunity to again re-establish the national federation, for such is the desire of several hundreds around here."

"Coal Creek, Tennessee.

"Give us instructions to organize the federation in the State of Tennessee. We want you to do something.

"JAMES BYERS.

"A. V. WILCOX.

"MARTIN DISNEY."

The following resolution, presented by the committee on resolutions, was agreed to on the above communications and others that were received of a similar character from other States:

"Whereas, The miners of several States not having representatives present ask at our hands the sending of organizers in their midst to aid them in perfecting their organization;

"Resolved, That the communications received from Philipsburg and Connellsville coal fields of Pennsylvania, and from the States of Kansas, Iowa, Missouri, Kentucky, Alabama and Tennessee, be referred to the incoming executive board, and that the board be instructed to carefully consider the best means of complying with their request, and that a 10-cent per capita assessment be placed upon all members, the same to be collected not later than October 15, 1888, to aid in the work of organizing, the board to make another assessment of 10 cents should they deem it necessary."

The committee on rules and order of business reported and recommended the same rules as governed the third annual convention, which read as follows:

"1. Roll of delegates.

"2. Reports of delegates as to the condition and desires of their constituency.

"3. Report of auditing committee.

"4. Report of committee on resolutions.

"5. Report of committee on ways and means.

"6. Miscellaneous business.

"7. Election of officers.

"Rule 1. That no delegate shall speak more than five minutes on any one subject, nor more than once until all have had an opportunity to be heard.

"Rule 2. That this convention shall be governed according to parliamentary rules.

"JOHN E. SHORT,
"JOHN KANE,
"JOHN DONOHUE,
"Committee."

On motion, the report was adopted.

The auditing committee's report was presented, and the following statement will show the receipts and expenses during the year:

Balance on hand September 6, 1888-----	\$682 78
Receipts to September 1, 1888-----	2,235 84
Total receipts from all sources-----	\$2,918 62

Expenditures.

Hall rent -----	\$10 00
Members national executive board -----	287 75
Percentage to treasurer -----	22 36
To organizers in central and southern Illinois---	681 76
To Grape Creek miners-----	100 00
Printing and stenographer -----	217 74
Organizers -----	64 10
Envelops and letter-heads -----	17 15
Expenses of executive secretary—	
Balance due last audit-----	51 23
Salary -----	900 00
Railroad fare -----	162 45
Hotel bill -----	95 75
Office expenses -----	52 45
Postage and expressage -----	48 60
Total expenses for the year-----	\$2,711 34
Balance in treasury September 1, 1888-----	207 28

"Having examined all books and vouchers of both treasurer and secretary, we have found all satisfactory in accordance with the report.

"WILLIAM HAWTHORNE,
"EBENEZER LEWIS,
"JAMES MCGOVERN,
"Auditing Committee."

The time having arrived to hear from the representatives of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, William T. Lewis, D. M. Evans and George Harris were introduced and reported through William T. Lewis and D. M. Evans, as follows:

"National Trade Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, assembled in convention at Cleveland, Ohio, adopted the following in regard to scale rates:

"That a relative minimum scale basis be established below which the price of mining shall not fall, and that the responsibility of enforcing the scale rates shall not rest solely with the miners, but that miners and operators be mutually responsible. That the territory governed by scale rates be enlarged so that each State shall have representation upon the scale committee.'"

Recommendations of Master Workman W. T. Lewis:

"I recommend that some steps be taken to have a conference of all the miners of the bituminous region prior to the next interstate meeting of operators and miners, for the purpose of adjusting a scale of prices, and that an invitation be extended to all operators to afterward meet at the interstate convention, in joint conference with the miners, to discuss and make any change necessary in the scale as adopted by the miners, but with the understanding that the operators of any given State failing or refusing to be present at the interstate meeting, then the scale as adopted at the miners' conference shall be considered the scale of prices for those regions, and all honorable means shall be used to have them enforced.

"The recommendations of Master Workman W. T. Lewis are hereby approved, and that the co-operation of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers be requested to put the plan into practical operation.

"D. M. EVANS,

"Secretary pro tem National Executive Board

National District Assembly No. 135."

"It was resolved by National District Assembly No. 135 that on and after September 1, 1889, the working days should constitute nine hours instead of the system as at present, and on the first day of September, 1890, the working hours should be reduced to eight hours per day; that we request all other mining organizations for their co-operation to put this into practical effect on the aforesaid dates.

"D. M. EVANS,

"Secretary pro tem N. D. A. Executive Board."

After a friendly discussion on the questions presented, a recess was taken, and on resuming business it was moved that

a committee of three be appointed to confer with the representatives of National District Assembly No. 135. Daniel McLaughlin, John McBride and James Cantwell were appointed as said committee, after which an adjournment was taken until 2 o'clock p. m. to give the committee time to report.

Afternoon Session, Wednesday, September 5.

Convention called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., with P. H. Penna in the chair. The conference committee reported as follows:

"Whereas, As members of the conference committee representing National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, and the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, to determine upon the best methods of uniting all members of our craft, having decided that such a result can only be reached by and through a national joint convention of the two organizations, we therefore issue the following call:

"To organized Miners Everywhere, Greeting:

"You are hereby notified that a joint convention of the National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, and the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers will be held in the city of Columbus, Ohio, at 10 o'clock a. m., Wednesday, December 12, 1888. The objects of the convention will be to decide upon the form of organization to govern our organized craftsmen in the future, and to determine upon a policy that will more effectually protect and promote the interests of our craft.

"The basis of representation shall be from each organization, one delegate for each 500 members, or the majority fraction thereof. Each organization shall make their own arrangements as to representation upon the basis named above."

The report was adopted.

The following resolutions were also agreed to:

"Whereas, The *National Labor Tribune*, the official organ of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, has always been the steadfast friend of the miners, and is still advocating the principles of the federation with a vigor that can not fail to command the respect of our members; and

"Whereas, The future elevation of our organization depends largely on the circulation of the official business and the daily transactions of our members in the several States, enlightening them on the subjects that concern them most, and believing it would be to the best interest of the craft to increase its circulation; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That all delegates present use their individual efforts among their constituents and the craft in general, and urge upon them to subscribe for our official organ in order that we may receive the full benefit of all the information it contains, and that our members may become more conversant with the work of our organization. Keep posted on all matters pertaining to it, and not only record this resolution as a re-indorsement of the *Tribune*, but show that we appreciate its past efforts in our behalf by a united effort to place it in the home of every miner, whose interest it has so ably and fearlessly defended.

"Whereas, At joint conventions of miners and operators in the past the operators have refused to consider and determine any question except that of relative mining rates, and as there are other questions which are general in character and inflict injury upon our craftsmen in all States and Territories; be it

"Resolved, That the executive secretary be instructed to notify all operators who participate in the federated movement that they will be required to consider all questions that are general in character, so that justice may be done to miners and operators alike.

"Resolved, That the question of reducing the hours of labor in and around the mines be acted upon at the joint convention of representatives of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, and National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, to be held at Columbus, Ohio, in December, 1888; and should the operators refuse to grant a reduction in the hours of labor as agreed upon at said meeting, that the miners inaugurate a movement and agree upon a time to put it into practice."

Adjourned until 8 o'clock a. m.

THIRD DAY.

Thursday Morning Session, September 6, 1888.

Convention called to order at 8 o'clock a. m., with P. H. Penna in the chair. After the roll had been called, the committee on resolutions offered the following, which was adopted:

"Whereas, W. L. Douglass, a shoe manufacturer of Brocton, Massachusetts, is now engaged, and has been since August 6, 1887, in a fight against the Lasters' Protective Union, and refuses either to pay standard prices or employ any but non-union men to operate their lasting machines; and as miners have been largely purchasers of the W. L. Douglass \$3 shoe, thereby doing an injustice to organized labor; be it

"Resolved, That we, the representatives of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, in convention assembled, urge upon our members in all States to refuse to purchase the scab-made shoes of W. L. Douglass."

The following telegram was received from Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, and ordered placed in the proceedings:

"Detroit, Michigan, September 6, 1888.

"To Chris Evans, Secretary Convention Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, Indianapolis, Indiana:

"In the name of the American Federation of Labor, I send you greeting. May harmony and wisdom characterize your proceedings and success attend your organization.

"SAMUEL GOMPERS."

On motion, a short recess was taken, and on resuming business again the following officers were elected for the ensuing term:

For executive secretary, Christopher Evans of Ohio was re-elected by acclamation.

For treasurer a strong effort was made to re-elect Daniel McLaughlin, but he positively declined to serve, and James Cantwell of Carbon, Clay county, Indiana, was elected by acclamation.

For Members of National Executive Board—Nominations: Daniel McLaughlin, John McBride, P. H. Penna and Michael F. Moran.

A ballot was taken on the candidates above named, and the following members were duly elected:

Daniel McLaughlin, Braidwood, Will county, Illinois; John McBride, Massillon, Ohio, and Michael F. Moran, Wheeling, West Virginia.

The executive board is Christopher Evans, James Cantwell, Daniel McLaughlin, John McBride and Michael F. Moran.

The following resolutions were adopted:

"Resolved, That the selection of a member of the executive board from the anthracite region of Pennsylvania be left to the members of the executive board elected by this convention.

"Whereas, Our ex-treasurer and old adviser and true friend, Daniel McLaughlin, has served us for the last three years at no small sacrifice of time and at a recompense, to say the very least, very trifling; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the thanks of this federation be returned to Mr. McLaughlin for his truly valuable services in the past

in the interest of our union, and his life's best efforts in the interest of our craft and labor generally.

"Resolved, That the thanks of this convention is hereby returned to our executive secretary, Christopher Evans, for his faithful services in the past as our servant and official.

"Resolved, That we return the thanks of the association to the members of our national executive board.

"Resolved, That the thanks of this convention be returned to our chairman for the impartial and devoted manner in which he has performed his duty, also to his assistant, Alexander Johnson, and to P. H. Donnelly for his valuable and efficient services as assistant secretary of the convention."

The convention then adjourned and closed a very pleasant and harmonious meeting.

P. H. PENNA, Chairman.

CHRIS EVANS, Secretary.

P. H. DONNELLY, Assistant Secretary.

On September 6, 1888, after the convention of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers had adjourned, the national executive board held a meeting, with John McBride president and Chris Evans secretary.

At this meeting the executive secretary was authorized to give one week's services to the West Virginia miners after the work of the convention was disposed of, and in the meantime M. F. Moran was paid \$50 for organizing services in the latter State.

It was also decided by the board that general organizers should be engaged just as soon as funds were sufficiently supplied to meet this much-needed work so strongly desired by the miners of Pennsylvania, Kansas, Iowa, Missouri, Kentucky, Alabama and Tennessee.

During the year H. W. Smith, ex-vice-president of the Illinois Miners' Protective Association, made an organizing tour in the interest of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers through the State of Missouri, and reported an enthusiastic crowd of workers in what was known as the Moberly branch, under the tuition of T. E. Gorman and George Palfreyman as president and secretary. In other parts of the State the unrest was plainly visible.

The Shawnee miners of Perry county, Ohio, were also gathering together in greater numbers as members of the Ohio Miners' Amalgamated Association.

CHAPTER XXX.

The fourth convention of the Federated Association of Miners and Mine Laborers of Indiana, September, 1888, elected P. H. Penna president, John Kane vice-president, T. F. Bolser secretary-treasurer.

President Penna made a very interesting address to the delegates, in which he said in part:

We must lend a helping hand to bring other States up, or eventually suffer them to bring us down."

He advised an increase in the per capita tax to the national union; the adoption of an eight-hour workday, and two weeks' pays. Treating on a law for the latter, he said:

I am willing, as a coal miner, to go with the employer and have a law passed. Such a law, surrounded with suitable penalties, would secure us against a violation of its provisions. It would be an evidence of our willingness to conciliate with our employers, would be no disadvantage to them, and an accommodation to us.

The State preamble was in line with the preamble of the national union.

The constitution for the State, together with the rules governing the State joint board of arbitration and conciliation, follow:

CONSTITUTION.

I.—*Name.*

This association shall be known as the Federated Association of Miners and Mine Laborers of the State of Indiana.

II.—*Jurisdiction.*

This federation shall include all the miners and mine laborers of the State of Indiana.

III.—*Officers.*

The officers of this association shall consist of a president (who shall act as organizer), vice-president, secretary-treasurer, auditor, and three members who, with the officers, shall constitute an executive board.

IV.—*Duties of Officers.*

1. It shall be the duty of the president to preside at all conventions, special and regular; to regulate the transaction of business; to see that the several officers perform their duties according to the constitution and rules of this association; to attest all orders on the secretary-treasurer for the payment of moneys after such orders have been properly granted by the executive board. He shall exert a general supervision over the association and all its locals during the time the convention is not in session, but in no case shall he substitute his ideas for those set forth in this constitution. He shall act as general organizer of the State of Indiana and shall organize districts and locals when necessary, and shall have power to call special conventions when deemed necessary by the executive board, or on written request of five locals with the signature of the president and secretary of each local appended. The requisition must also contain reasons why such convention is desired. He shall also have the power to call all special sessions of the executive board on the written request of three locals. The State officers shall prepare a statement of the business, giving all facts in the case in their possession, for the miners at each pit. His salary shall be \$50 per month, car fare and hotel expenses.

2. The vice-president shall, when called upon, assist the president, and in case of the death, removal or resignation of the latter, he shall be called upon by the secretary-treasurer to perform the duties of the president until the expiration of his term.

3. The duties of the secretary-treasurer are that he shall record the proceedings of each State convention, and shall have charge of the correspondence and general business. He shall draw warrants, which shall be signed by the president, and shall assist the executive board in the preparation of their reports and shall receive the moneys and receipt for the same. No money shall be expended by him except by warrant signed by the president. He shall report receipts of all moneys received from week to week in the *National Labor Tribune*, and for what purpose. He shall be required to give a bond of \$500, to be given by two different bondsmen, to be secured in thirty days after his election. The salary of the secretary-treasurer will be \$20 per month and office expenses.

4. The auditor shall receive and keep on file duplicate reports of all moneys sent to the secretary-treasurer from locals. He shall also hold the secretary-treasurer's bond and have the same recorded in the proper county or counties.

5. The executive board shall appoint two of their number who shall audit the accounts of the association once a year,

or oftener if necessary. They shall have power to call for any books, papers, vouchers or other evidence they deem useful to the expedition and correctness of the audit. No State officer shall be appointed on this committee. The executive board shall pass upon the bond offered by the secretary-treasurer. Should the bond not prove satisfactory, the office will be declared vacant and the next highest candidate voted for at the regular election shall be given the preference of appointment to the office, if not otherwise ineligible, with the right of appeal to candidate same as if already in office, and so on until all persons voted for at the election are exhausted. Should any other office become vacant from any cause the same rule shall apply, unless otherwise provided in this constitution. It shall be the duty of the executive board to demand the resignation of any officer proven to the satisfaction of a majority of the board to be guilty of inability, neglect of duty or malfeasance while in office, or who is incapable through the use of intoxicating drinks to perform his duty to the association, and if he should refuse to resign he shall stand suspended until the case can be submitted to the locals and acted upon by them. The board shall provide ways and means to further the organization; shall order all warrants drawn on the secretary-treasurer, and allow all bills when the convention is not in session; shall hear grievances and settle, if possible, all disputes that may arise between our members and their employers. In so doing they shall be governed by the rules adopted by the State and interstate joint boards of conciliation and arbitration, published herewith and made a part of this constitution. No strike shall be authorized by this association in any local or district until the methods provided in this constitution are exhausted. All members of the board, except salaried officers, shall receive \$2.12½ per day, subject to pro rata advance or reduction, while performing their duties, and expenses. The board shall appoint one of their number to represent them in the conventions with a voice and vote.

V.—Regular Convention.

The regular convention shall be held on the third Tuesday of August in each year, and officers shall be elected at such convention. Each local having paid all dues, assessments and levies by the association, shall be entitled to one vote for fifty members or less, and one for each additional fifty members or major fraction thereof. Locals having less than thirty members may vote by proxy through any authorized delegate to the convention, provided such proxy shall be in the same form as delegates' credentials. Locals having more than one vote may send a delegate for each vote, or may give all

the votes to one delegate. The same rule as to representation shall apply to special convention.

VI.—*Removal of Officers.*

Any officer suspended by the executive board may be expelled by a two-thirds vote of the locals of the association. The executive board and the suspended officer shall each present a statement of the case to each local, upon the receipt of which the locals shall, at their first regular meeting, vote by ballot on expulsion or reinstatement and report at once to the president, who shall immediately declare the result to the locals and executive board.

VII.—*Grievances.*

In case of grievances no State officer shall countenance any call from locals until they have complied with all the requirements of this constitution, and all local and district efforts have been exhausted, except that it can clearly be proven that such grievances are detrimental to the association outside the locality in which such grievances exist.

VIII.—*Nominations and Resolutions.*

All nominations shall be sent to the State secretary, not later than three weeks before annual convention, when all the nominations as sent in by locals shall be compiled by the State secretary, and the same shall be sent to all the locals in the State not later than two weeks prior to the convention. Any officer, as such, who shall use his influence in behalf of or against any candidate in nomination shall be sufficient cause to disqualify the same from holding office longer. Resolutions shall be sent by the delegates to the convention; shall be written and have the signature of the president and secretary and the seal of the local attached. When more than two candidates are voted for; the lowest shall be dropped after each vote until one candidate receives a majority of all the votes cast, when such candidate shall be declared elected.

IX.—*Supplies.*

Each local shall procure a seal and a charter, together with a sufficient supply of constitutions, dues cards and transfer cards. The same shall be ordered through the general office, and all orders shall be accompanied by the money. All supplies in the local about to collapse shall be considered property of the Federated Association of Miners and Mine Laborers of the State, and as such be returned to state secretary; and on the reorganizing of such locals the supplies shall be returned to the locals as their property. No officer shall make

any purchase or incur any debt on this association except upon the order of the executive board.

X.—*Dues.*

Each local shall remit to the general secretary-treasurer, before the 16th of the succeeding month, 10 cents for each member paying up during the month previous, and also on each month's back dues collected, and all levies collected under the order of the State executive board. Initiation of new members shall be 20 cents each. This shall cover State and national per capita tax.

XI.—*Checkweighman.*

Each mine employing thirty or more men, two-thirds of whom are members of this association, shall employ a checkweighman. All dues for this association shall be deducted through the office of the company running the mine, as the checkweighman's wages are deducted where practicable.

XII.—*Amendments.*

This constitution shall not be altered or amended except at an annual convention.

*Rules of the Joint Board of Arbitration and Conciliation of Miners
and Operators, State of Indiana.*

For the information of miners, mine and district committees and operators that are members of the above association:

1. Notice must be served in writing upon the party at fault by the party having the grievance, stating specifically the character of the grievance.

2. No power of authority exists in mine or district committees or any official of the Federated Association of Miners and Mine Laborers of Indiana to declare a strike.

3. No operator or operators' association has any power or authority to shut down mines on account of differences with miners.

4. Neither strike nor lockout shall be declared until after the following efforts of arbitration and conciliation shall have failed to secure a settlement of existing difficulties, to wit:

First—An effort to arbitrate existing differences to be made by the mine committee and the operator of the mine.

Second—On failure of the first effort an appeal, in writing, shall be taken by the miners, or operator, or jointly, to the district committee.

Third—Should the district committee fail to settle the grievance, an appeal, in writing, shall be taken to the joint board of conciliation and arbitration of the State of Indiana, whose decision on all local grievances shall be final.

Fourth—An appeal, in writing, of all questions of an interstate character, shall be certified by the president and secretary of the State joint board to the interstate board of arbitration and conciliation, whose decision in such cases shall be final.

Fifth—The party on whom said notice is served, failing to meet for arbitration, the party serving notice shall cause said failure to meet and arbitrate to be certified, in writing, to the secretary of said district committee. The president of said district committee shall cause the secretary of said district committee to immediately serve notice, in writing, on the party failing to meet to arbitrate, setting forth the nature of the grievance, naming a day when the district committee will meet to act on said grievance.

Sixth—Should either party fail to meet the district committee, said failure shall be certified, in writing, to the State joint board for their decision, which shall be final in the premises, whether the party declining to arbitrate is present or not.

Seventh—In cases where the parties meet and there is a failure to settle their grievances, said failure must be certified, in writing, to the higher authority having the power to adjust said difficulties.

Eighth—It shall be the duty of the president of the State joint board of arbitration and conciliation to call a meeting of said board without delay and submit the grievance to said board for its action.

Ninth—When the existing grievance or difference involves a question of increase or decrease of pay, the pay shall take effect of the same date as the date of submission of said grievance in writing.

Tenth—Both parties shall be bound by the action of the authorities deciding the grievance.

S. N. YEOMAN, President.
JOHN DUDDEY, Secretary.

CHAPTER XXXI.

SINEY MONUMENT UNVEILED.

Through the solicitation of a few of his closely-attached associates, in the early part of the year 1887 the *National Labor Tribune of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania*, opened up a subscription list for the purpose of erecting a monument over the grave of John Siney. Later a granite monument was erected and unveiled November 1, 1888, with very impressive ceremonies.

A number of his former co-workers present very feelingly eulogized his good works and self-sacrificing nature in the interest of those of his fellows that were left to carry on the good work he had so well begun.

On a visit to the grave at St. Clair, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, July 16, 1917, in company with International Board Member Martin Nash, was found the following words inscribed on the monument:

JOHN SINEY

Died April 16, 1880. Age 49 Years

Erected by his admiring friends under the
auspices of the M. and L. A. A. in memory
of his firm devotion to the cause of labor.

Letter of William T. Lewis to General Master Workman
T. V. Powderly:

Office of National District Assembly No. 135,
Knights of Labor.

Shawnee, Ohio, October 30, 1888.

T. V. Powderly, General Master Workman, Knights of Labor:

Dear Sir and Brother—Your circular, "To the Assemblies Attached to National District Assembly No. 135," dated October 29, 1888, to hand this p. m. I am not surprised, but sorry, that you are confirming what you are frequently accused of—being the principal cause of the discord and turmoil in the ranks of labor.

You ask the handful of miners of the order, "Is it the desire of the miners to desert the Knights of Labor?" Why

don't you ask, "Is it the desire of the hosts who have departed to come back?" Too well you know that the majority have gone, and they have not met in assemblies and adopted resolutions to that effect. They went out individually, silently, as they came in; and it is only known they have gone when the quarterly returns are made. Those who have gone had good reason for their action, and those who remain are hoping against hope for something from this order. * * * Out of that vast host of working people District Assembly No. 16 has about four or five thousand members, of which about two thousand are miners having their affairs looked after by men who dig coal in the court houses and shoe and clothing stores.

For nearly two years has District Assembly No. 135 tried to organize those men; and while discussing the same subject at a public meeting, was it necessary for you to appeal that "God forbid that we return to trade unionism"? You know, or ought to know, that a trades district is nothing more nor less than a trades union, based on the principles of the Knights of Labor; and you know, or ought to know, that if there is any section that needs such an organization it is the anthracite region of Pennsylvania.

Today there are two rival organizations of miners in this country. Had you but done your duty, or kept "hands off" and let others do, there would be but one—and there is no room for more than one organization of miners in this country—and while the miners in the Knights of Labor will stay in or go out, regardless of any appeal you or I make, I do and will advise them to have but one organization, call it what they may.

Yours, etc.,

W. T. LEWIS.

National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, was strongly opposed to the check-off system of collecting dues that was jointly agreed to between the operators and miners who were members of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, and in some instances the money collected by this method from the miners belonging to National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, was returned to them after the check-offs had been made. Later, however, this system of collecting dues for the organization was pretty generally observed among all members of the mining craft.

Commenting upon some of the causes for dissatisfaction among the miners of western Pennsylvania that were members of the Knights of Labor, Henry Evans makes the following contribution:

I wish to take your history of the miners back to the years 1884 and 1886. My reason for so doing is to give you a more comprehensive detail of the great work that was done in the Shenango and Beaver valleys from a local official point. The miners were organized in local assemblies connected with the Pittsburg district. The miners on the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers had been connected with the Knights of Labor since 1880, and the years 1884 and 1886 were the beginning of dissatisfaction in our local assemblies owing to our headquarters in Pittsburg continually sending men to adjust our grievances who knew nothing of the inner workings of the mines, and this was the beginning of the miners starting an agitation for a miners' district assembly, to be controlled by miners, who alone knew the needs of their own calling.

The writer, with other local officials, was selected to go to Pittsburg several times to fight this point, but we were ever defeated owing to other mixed assemblies outvoting our idea. This mode of working was continued for a short time, until 1887, when there was started what was known as the Miners' Amalgamated Union, having for its president John Costello, and John Flannery secretary.

The writer, with Brothers Simon, Rees, Rhydor, Morgan, and several other local workers, were selected to visit the Mercer, Butler, Shenango and Beaver valleys, and the many mines on the Panhandle in the Pittsburg district. Grand work was accomplished in many of those camps. I write from personal experience. In those days there were some grand men identified with that organization which became identified with the Progressive Union, and when we think of the suffering and the hardships endured by the hundreds of our fellow craftsmen who took a leading part in the miners' early union days, it is worthy that they should have a place in such an important history of the American coal miners.

And let me say that it was a national misfortune to the miners—in fact to all the industrial toilers in the United States—when the Knights of Labor went down. In fact, it was a workingman's seminary, and when we think of those days right up to 1890 when those cursed pluck-mes, free clicks and ironclads were in full swing in the Pittsburg district we feel glad we suffered and even became outcasts in order that the boys and girls of those days should have a better start in their industrial and economical life.

In those days the Rt. Hon. W. B. Wilson and I had some rough experiences together. Yes, Billy was—and I believe is today—a man worthy of admiration.

And let me just say in closing, that the United Mine Workers' organization stands as one of the best organizations of miners in the world.

HENRY EVANS.

On the special convention of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers to be held at Columbus, Ohio, December 4, 1888, and the joint meeting of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, and the national federation, to be held later, the following notices were issued:

General Office.

New Straitsville, Ohio, November 1, 1888.

To the Members of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers:

The duties of the joint representatives of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, and the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers will be to decide upon the form of organization to govern our organized craftsmen in the future, and to determine upon a policy that will more effectually protect and promote the interests of our craft.

As this meeting is a very important one to every member of our craft, we hope a full representation will be present.

Very truly yours,

CHRIS EVANS, Executive Secretary,

[From *National Labor Tribune*.]

November 10, 1888.

To the Master Workman of Local Assembly —:

You are hereby notified to call a special of your assembly immediately and submit the following questions to your local assembly:

1. Are you in favor of having one organization conduct the business of the miners of this country?

2. Shall the representatives of both organizations in the joint convention (who will be there from all over the country) decide upon some plan that your forces may be directed through one channel?

Answer at once to W. T. Lewis, Box 238, Shawnee, Perry county, Ohio.

Yours fraternally,

W. T. LEWIS,

Master Workman National District Assembly No. 135.

CHAPTER XXXII.

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE SPECIAL MEETING
OF THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF MINERS AND
MINE LABORERS, HELD IN DRUIDS' HALL, COLUM-
BUS, OHIO, DECEMBER 4, 1888.

The convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m. by Executive Secretary Christopher Evans, who stated briefly the object of the meeting as being for consultation upon the subject of the call for a joint meeting with the representatives of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor.

The following were then appointed as a committee on credentials: P. H. Donnelly of Illinois, P. H. Penna of Indiana and Ebenezer Lewis of Ohio.

A recess was then taken, after which the committee reported the following entitled to admission:

From Illinois—Daniel McLaughlin, P. H. Donnelly, John Young, David Ross, William Scaife, Andrew Burke, Andrew Sloan and James T. Tinman.

From Ohio—John McBride, Alexander Johnson, Ebenezer Lewis, John H. Taylor, John Cox, William Banefield, John P. Jones, William Dorn, Charles Call, John A. Peddicord, James Pritchard, W. H. Turner, J. A. Donnelly, Richard Allen, William E. Farms, Samuel Llewellyn, Daniel Griffiths, V. E. Sullivan, James Collins, Henry Pugh, Christopher Evans and N. R. Hysell.

From Indiana—P. H. Penna, James Cantwell, James White, William Houston, John Rooney and Andrew Maxwell.

From Pennsylvania Coke Regions—William Mullen.

From West Virginia—M. F. Moran and Jeremiah Mead.

The committee also recommended that W. T. Griffiths of Streator, Illinois, be admitted as a delegate to the convention.

On motion, the report of the committee was accepted and recommendations concurred in.

Daniel McLaughlin of Illinois was unanimously selected to preside over the convention and Chris Evans of Ohio to act as secretary.

Mr. McLaughlin, on taking the chair, addressed the convention with words of sound advice and much promise for the outlook.

John McBride of Ohio made an able address, as did P. H. Penna of Indiana.

After remarks by several delegates, N. R. Hysell of Ohio moved that as federation representatives, voicing the sentiments and instructions of the members, we are, as we have always been, in favor of one organization of the craft.

On motion of John McBride of Ohio the committee on credentials, together with the executive secretary, Chris Evans, and the national treasurer, James Cantwell, were to act as a committee to prepare the representation of the federation in the joint meeting with National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor.

On motion, adjournment was taken until 4 o'clock, afternoon.

Afternoon Session—Four O'clock.

Meeting called to order by Chairman McLaughlin.

The committee on representation read the list of federation delegates, with representation belonging to each in the joint convention.

The following are the delegates named:

From Illinois—Daniel McLaughlin, Braidwood, at large; P. H. Donnelly, Springfield, at large; John Young, Braidwood, Seneca district; David Ross, Oglesby, La Salle district; William Scaife, Coal City; Andrew Bourke, Spring Valley; Andrew Sloan, Clark City; James T. Tinman, "Diamond Mine."

From Ohio—John McBride, Massillon, at large; Ebenezer Lewis, Krumroy, at large; Christopher Evans, New Straitsville, at large; N. R. Hysell, Corning, at large; Alexander Johnson, Nelsonville, at large; John H. Taylor, New Straitsville, at large; John Cox, Glouster; William Banfield, Buchtel; John P. Jones, North Lawrence; William Dorn, Maynard; Charles Call, New Straitsville; John A. Peddicord, Bellaire; James Pritchard, Corning; W. H. Turner, Cambridge; J. A. Donnelly, Orbiston; Richard Allen, Wadsworth; William E. Farms, Sand Run; Samuel Llewellyn, Coalton; Daniel Griffiths, Shawnee; V. E. Sullivan, Glen Roy; James Collins, Salineville; Henry Pugh, Nelsonville.

From Pennsylvania Coke Regions—William Mullen, Scott-dale.

From West Virginia—M. F. Moran, Wheeling; Jeremiah Mead, Wheeling.

State at Large Entitled to Representation—Kentucky and Alabama.

Pennsylvania—Outside coke regions and Missouri.

The meeting adjourned to meet again, subject to the call of the executive board.

Wednesday, December 5, 1888—Second Day's Session.

Meeting called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., with Daniel McLaughlin in the chair. A message was delivered to the convention from the meeting of National District Assembly No. 135 delegates by Patrick McBryde to the effect that the representatives of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, would call in a body to sit in joint convention with the federation at 3 o'clock this afternoon.

On motion, the report of Patrick McBryde was accepted.

"Resolved, That in the event of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, refusing to join the national federation in the formation of a single and distinct union of our craft, this federation refuses to any longer continue the farce of agreement such as was adopted last February, and will not entertain any proposition save that looking to a single union."

Agreed to. The convention then adjourned.

Friday—Evening Session.

Convention called to order by Chairman McLaughlin, and the following resolution was adopted:

"Resolved, That the closing up of the affairs of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers be left in the hands of the national executive board, and that all moneys left in the treasury be turned over to the National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers."

After which the convention adjourned.

DANIEL McLAUGHLIN, Chairman.

CHRIS EVANS, Secretary.

Saturday Session.

The executive board met as per instructions on the morning of the above date at the Farmers' Hotel, and organized with John McBride in the chair and Chris Evans secretary.

All bills against the national federation were ordered paid, the books of the executive secretary and treasurer audited, and the following statement will show the receipts and expenditures for the three years and three months that the national federation has been in existence, commencing September 12, 1885, and ending December 8, 1888:

Total receipts from September 12, 1885, to December 8,	
1888 -----	\$9,215 59
Total expenses from September 12, 1885, to December 8,	
1888 -----	8,943 52

Balance in treasury December 8, 1888--- \$272 07

The following is recorded on the books as the findings of the executive board:

"We, the members of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers' executive board, have examined all books and accounts of the executive secretary, and found them correct in all particulars.

"JOHN MCBRIDE.

"DANIEL MCLAUGHLIN.

"M. F. MORAN.

"JAMES CANTWELL.

"December 8, 1888."

"We have examined all accounts of the treasurer of the federation and found them correct.

"M. F. MORAN.

"JOHN MCBRIDE.

"DANIEL MCLAUGHLIN.

"CHRIS EVANS.

"December 8, 1888."

Moved that the salary of the executive secretary be continued until December 15, 1888, in order to allow him time to settle all business in publishing proceedings and other work in closing up the affairs of the federation.

Agreed to.

The balance left in the treasury, \$272.07, was turned over to John McBride, president of the National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers, and the following resolution was agreed to by the board:

"Resolved, That all books, seal and other records of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers be left in charge of the executive secretary, Christopher Evans, to be handed over to any national convention of miners and mine laborers held in the future that desires to consult the records of the same."

Moved to adjourn sine die.

JOHN MCBRIDE, Chairman.

CHRIS EVANS, Secretary.

NOTE.—In closing up the work of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, we feel it a duty incumbent

upon us to say a few parting words to the faithful members that have contributed toward its success. The past three years have developed reforms in the mining industry that have not been surpassed in the history of coal mining, and the grand achievements that have been won through the influence of the national federation during that time have secured for it a name well worthy the cause it has so ably advocated. To give up such a fort of protection is a sacrifice that can only be borne by the true and self-sacrificing, whose sole desire is to increase the power that promises an increased protection to the miners in general. And believing this to have been the only incentive that has prompted the severing of the pleasant ties that have bound us together with such remarkable success, we ask that the same good feeling and support that has made the national federation so prominent in the past be centralized in the building up of the National Progressive Union that we might share the benefits that must necessarily follow the solidification of the mining craft.

Very truly yours,

CHRIS EVANS,
JAMES CANTWELL,
JOHN MCBRIDE,
MICHAEL F. MORAN,
DANIEL McLAUGHLIN,
Members Executive Board.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE JOINT CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF MINERS AND MINE LABORERS AND NATIONAL DISTRICT ASSEMBLY No. 135, KNIGHTS OF LABOR, HELD AT COLUMBUS, OHIO, DECEMBER 5, 1888, THAT ORGANIZED THE NATIONAL PROGRESSIVE UNION.

The joint session of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, and National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers met in Druid Hall, Columbus, Ohio, December 5, 1888.

The convention was called to order by John McBride of Ohio at 3 o'clock p. m., and W. T. Lewis was elected chairman and Chris Evans secretary.

The call for the joint convention, as embraced in the following proceedings, was then read:

"Indianapolis, Indiana, September 5, 1888.

"Conference between members of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, and National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers.

"Members present: W. T. Lewis, D. M. Evans and George Harris of No. 135; James Cantwell, Daniel McLaughlin and John McBride on the part of the Federation.

"D. M. Evans was elected chairman and John McBride secretary.

"After a general discussion on the differences between the two organizations and the best means of advancing their interests, W. T. Lewis and John McBride were delegated as a sub-committee to prepare a plan upon which action should be based.

"After a recess the sub-committee presented their report, as follows:

"Whereas, As members of the conference committee representing National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, and the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, to determine upon the best methods of uniting all organized members of our craft, having decided that such a result can only be accomplished by and through a national joint convention of the two organizations, we therefore issue the following call:

“To Organized Miners Everywhere, Greeting:

“You are hereby notified that a joint convention of the National District Assembly No. 135 and the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers will be held at Columbus, Ohio, at 10 o'clock a. m., Wednesday, December 5, 1888.

“The objects of the convention will be to decide upon the form of organization to govern our organized craftsmen in the future, and to determine upon a policy that will more effectually protect and promote the interests of our craft.

Basis of Representation.

“The basis of representation shall be: From each organization one delegate for each 500 members, or the majority fraction thereof.

“Each organization shall make their own arrangements as to representation upon the basis named above.’

“Adopted unanimously.

“Upon motion it was decided that Messrs. Lewis and McBride prepare a plan of consolidation which they shall submit to the executive boards of the two organizations, which will meet two days prior to the time set for the joint convention.

“JOHN MCBRIDE.

“JAMES CANTWELL.

“DANIEL MCLAUGHLIN.

“GEORGE HARRIS.

”D. M. EVANS.

“W. T. LEWIS.”

After reading the above to the joint convention, a motion was then adopted that one hour's time be allotted to discuss in a friendly way the question we have met to consider before any other business is entered into.

A motion was also adopted that reporters of the press be allowed to remain during the discussion. The following members then expressed their views upon the situation at considerable length: John McBride of Ohio, J. W. Kilduff of Pennsylvania, David Ross of Illinois, T. P. James of Ohio, William Mullen, John Costello, John B. Rea and George Harris of Pennsylvania, and P. H. Donnelly of Illinois.

Motion by W. H. Bailey of Ohio that the time for discussion be extended for another hour, which was continued by W. H. Griffith of Illinois, P. H. Penna of Indiana, Robert Watchorn of Pennsylvania, N. R. Hysell of Ohio, Patrick McBryde, Thomas W. Davis, George S. Bayle and Joseph Maize of Pennsylvania, William T. Lewis, Chris Evans and

William H. Bailey of Ohio, and John F. Farrell of Pennsylvania.

A recess was then taken until 7 o'clock p. m.

Evening Session.

Convention called to order at 7:30 p. m. by the chairman, and the following appointed a committee on credentials: James Cantwell, Indiana; P. H. Donnelly, Illinois; Patrick McBryde, Pennsylvania; George Harris, Pennsylvania; Ebenezer Lewis, Ohio.

The committee on credentials reported the following entitled to admission on behalf of the national federation:

Illinois—Daniel McLaughlin, Braidwood; P. H. Donnelly, Springfield; John Young, Braidwood; David Ross, Oglesby; William Scaife, Coal City; Andrew Bourke, Spring Valley; Andrew Sloan, Clark City; James F. Finman, Diamond Mine.

Ohio—Alexander Johnson, Nelsonville; John H. Taylor, New Straitsville; John Cox, Glouster; William Banfield, Buchtel; John P. Jones, North Lawrence; William Dorn, Maynard; Charles Call, New Straitsville; John A. Peddicord, Bellaire; James Pritchard, Corning; William H. Turner, Cambridge; N. R. Hysell, Corning; James A. Donnelly, Orbiston; Richard Allen, Wadsworth; William E. Farnes, Sand Run; Samuel Llewellyn, Coalton; Daniel Griffiths, Shawnee; V. E. Sullivan, Glen Roy; James Collins, Salineville; Henry Pugh, Nelsonville; John McBride, Massillon; Chris Evans, New Straitsville.

Indiana—P. H. Penna, Carbon; James Cantwell, Carbon; James White, Coal Bluff; William Houston, Cardonia; John Rooney, Washington; Andrew Maxwell, Linton.

West Virginia—Michael F. Moran, Wheeling; Jeremiah Mead, Wheeling.

Pennsylvania—William Mullen, Scottdale.

On behalf of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor:

George Harris, Reynoldsville, Pennsylvania; Thomas P. James and Thomas L. Lewis, Shawnee, Ohio; Frank Salmon, DePue, Illinois; James McDonald and John J. Fitzgerald, Shamokin, Pennsylvania; Samuel H. Cook, Illinois; William T. Lewis and William H. Bailey, Shawnee, Ohio; Benjamin Boden Pennsylvania; George S. Boyle, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania; Lewis James, New Straitsville, Ohio; Thomas W. Davis, Mahanoy City, Pennsylvania; L. M. Beatty, Sherrods-ville, Ohio; Joseph Maize, McKeesport, Pennsylvania; John D. Conway, Greenock, Pennsylvania; Thomas Percival and

Peter Harnel, Pennsylvania; Michael McQuade, Mansfield, Pennsylvania; Patrick McBride, Shire Oaks, Pennsylvania.

Your committee also recommended the admission of William Cherry, Samuel Lodge and William H. Griffiths of Streator, Illinois, who are here representing the miners of that place, irrespective of any organization, but are here in the interest of one organization for the members of our craft:

A resolution was then offered that it is the sense of this body that we are in favor of one organization to govern the affairs of our craft.

On call of the roll the resolution was adopted unanimously.

The following members were appointed a committee on law: Daniel McLaughlin, J. J. Fitzgerald, P. H. Penna, Thomas P. James, Samuel Llewellyn, T. W. Davis and W. H. Griffiths.

Adjourned to meet at 1:30 p. m. Thursday.

Thursday Afternoon, December 6.

Convention called to order by Secretary Chris Evans at 1:30 p. m., who introduced H. J. Skeffington of the Shoemakers' Union to address the meeting on the question of indorsing the yellow label of their organization, after which John McBride presided in the temporary absence of the chairman.

The secretary read telegrams from Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, and from President William Weihe and Secretary William Martin of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, congratulating the convention on its agreeing to form one national union for the miners of America.

On motion of Joseph Maize, the telegrams were made a part of the proceedings, and the secretary authorized to send messages in reply to the effect that we were going to have a national trade union in fact as well as in name.

The following are copies of the telegrams referred to:

“New York, December 5, 1888.

“To the Joint Convention of Miners and Mine Laborers, Care Chris Evans, Farmers' Hotel, 196 South Fourth Street, Columbus, Ohio:

“The American Federation of Labor congratulates you upon the progress enabling you to meet on common ground in the interest of your fellow toilers. I urge you to take the next step necessary to success — amalgamation. Unite the miners and mine laborers of the whole country in one grand

organization. Remember, your present opportunities do not often occur; do not allow them to pass; the man who dares to stand as an obstacle, brush him aside. May the anticipations of your sanguine members be surpassed.

"SAMUEL GOMPERS,

"President American Federation of Labor."

"Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, December 6.

"To Hon. Daniel McLaughlin, Druid Hall, Columbus, Ohio:

"The National Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers greets their brother coal miners on the formation of one union of their craft. Honest, diligent efforts henceforth will assuredly control the complete unification of your too long separated craft. We hope to meet your delegates at that grand trunk of unionism convention—the American Federation of Labor—next week. Long live the miners' new union, under whatever name she may sail.

"WILLIAM WEIHE, President.

"WILLIAM MARTIN, Secretary."

The following reply was telegraphed to the officers of both unions:

"Your congratulations to this joint convention are highly appreciated, and we are instructed to inform you that we have not only decided to have one national union for the miners, but intend to have a practical one, clear of all outside influences.

"WILLIAM T. LEWIS, Chairman.

"CHRIS EVANS, Secretary."

The committee on law submitted a partial report, which was considered.

The chairman was directed to appoint a committee on resolutions and selected the following: Andrew Burke, Alexander Johnson, George Harris Jeremiah Mead and James Cantwell.

A telegram was received from T. B. Barry of Michigan, and on motion was ordered answered to the effect that the miners have formed one distinct union.

Adjourned until 9 o'clock Friday morning.

Friday Morning, December 7.

Convention called to order, with W. T. Lewis in the chair. Report of committee on law continued.

Resolution on eight-hour question introduced and amended. The whole question was referred to committee on resolutions.

Resolution adopted that the incoming executive board take immediate steps to attach this organization to the American Federation of Labor.

Moved that the per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor be paid out of the national treasury. Adopted.

Adjourned to meet at 3 p. m.

Friday Afternoon, December 7.

Convention called to order, and committee on law continued their report.

The committee on resolutions reported as follows:

"We, your committee on resolutions, beg leave to report the following:

"Whereas, The American Federation of Labor meets in St. Louis, Missouri, December 12, 1888, and among some of the business to be considered is the eight-hour-day question; and

"Whereas, Members of this organization are members of that body; and be it

"Resolved, That it be the sense of this convention of organized miners that we favor the early adoption of the eight-hour system, and that we urge upon the delegates to the convention from the miners to work and vote for its adoption at the earliest period deemed practicable; and we pledge assistance and co-operation of the Miners and Mine Laborers' Progressive Union to carry the same into effect.

"Whereas, The success of the joint agreements between the operators and miners in relation to a scale of prices depends largely upon the general co-operation of all those operating mines in market districts; and

"Whereas, It is evident from past experience that we may expect more or less opposition in the future on the part of a certain class of operators who may refuse to recognize our organization or treat fairly with our members, seeking to obtain by such opposition an unfair advantage of those having signified their willingness to co-operate with us in this respect; and

"Whereas, In order to enforce strict compliance with the conditions of price or wage scales, it is necessary that we should be financially prepared to defend and sustain those who, on the order of the general officers, may be required to suspend work to enforce said compliance; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That an assessment of 50 cents be levied upon every member connected with the Miners' National Progressive Union, to be collected by the secretaries of the local

unions and by them forwarded to the general financial secretary no later than February 1, 1889.

"Resolved, That the executive board selected by this convention be instructed to formulate a plan for securing and maintaining a national defense fund, the same to be submitted to all branches of the Miners' National Progressive Union for their consideration. Should such plan meet the approbation of a majority of the members of this organization, it shall become a part of the organic law of the National Progressive Union."

The foregoing resolutions were adopted.

"Whereas, In some mining localities our miners are subjected to what is known as the annual contract or iron-clad system; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we, the delegates in convention assembled, do recommend that from this time forward no annual contract be entered into in any locality between operators and miners within our jurisdiction."

The above was referred to the incoming executive board.

"Resolved, That members of the National District Assembly 135, K. of L., who are members in good standing at present, or to March 1, 1889, be admitted to this association without payment of initiation fee. This shall not apply to the assessment recommended to be levied.

"Resolved, That the employers of labor in the following scale region, Kanawha valley, Ohio river and Monongahela and Youghiogheny valley, be requested by the secretary to send representatives to the interstate convention, to be held in the city of Indianapolis next February, for the purpose of forming an equitable scale rate for the above regions.

"Resolved, That in the event of trouble arising from the refusal of the coke operators to arrange a scale rate, the same course shall be pursued by the organization as in the case of the coal producing miners."

The above resolutions were adopted.

The following, as amended by Wm. Mullen, for the examination of fire bosses, was referred to the incoming executive board, with instructions to prepare the preamble referred to:

"Resolved, That a preamble of principles be prepared and inserted in the constitution, covering the following points: Prohibition of child labor in and around the mines; enactment of state and national laws covering employers' liability; payment for labor done, in lawful money, semi-monthly or weekly; proper mining laws regarding mine ventilation; manner of issuing certificates to mine foremen, prescribing their duties and penalties for violation of the law; also laws pre-

scribing the manner of appointment of mine inspectors, and defining duties of the same, with proper penalties for violation of said laws by the mine inspector, or neglect to enforce the laws in cases where said law has been or is being violated, and for neglect of duty by said mine inspector; fitting laws regulating the employment of labor in mines known to be dangerous to human life from whatever cause—foul, explosive gases, accumulations of water contiguous to workmen, unstable roof, gravel beds, lack of efficient machinery, etc. Also, laws prohibiting the employment of persons in mines of the above dangerous character who may be unable to speak, read or write the English language. Also, State and national laws amending, improving or modifying the conspiracy laws of the various States and Territories; also, laws relating to employment of mine check weighers.”

The following was referred to the committee on scale:

“Whereas, The wisdom of an annual scale rate for mining demonstrated to our satisfaction as being the best system yet devised to give prominence to the coal trade, and to establish peaceful and friendly relations between us and our employers; therefore, be it

“Resolved, That we, the representatives of the National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers of America, assembled, are in favor of continuing joint conferences with our operators, and the annual adjustment of the price of mining through the adoption of a scale of rates.

Scale Rates.

“That a relative minimum scale basis be established, below which the price of mining shall not fall, and that the responsibility of enforcing scale rates shall not rest solely with the miners, but that miners and operators be mutually responsible; that the territory governed by scale rates be enlarged so that each State shall have representation upon the scale; the committee recommend that steps be taken to have a conference of all the miners of the bituminous region prior to the next interstate meeting of operators and miners for the purpose of adjusting a scale of prices, and that an invitation be extended to all operators to afterward meet at the interstate convention, in joint conference with the miners, to discuss and make any changes necessary in the scale as adopted by the miners, but with the understanding that the operators of any given State, failing or refusing to be present at the interstate meeting, then the scale as adopted at the miners’ conference shall be considered the scale of prices for those regions, and all honorable means shall be used to have them enforced; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That all such sections of bituminous market district be entitled to one member on the scale committee, and that said committee shall meet at least three days before the joint meeting of operators and miners for the purpose of arranging an annual scale of mining rates for the ensuing year. Also, that each bituminous market shall be represented by one delegate to every 500 miners or major fraction thereof in the district to meet the operators in the city of Indianapolis on the first Tuesday in February, 1889."

Resolution to adopt the *National Labor Tribune* of Pittsburgh as the official organ of the organization referred to executive board to enter into proper agreement with the publisher :

"Resolved, That the next annual convention of the National Progressive Union shall be held February, 1890."

Adjourned until 7:30 p. m.

Friday Evening.

A motion that the details of the constitution be left to the incoming executive board was adopted.

The constitution was then adopted as a whole, and a motion adopted that we go into the election of officers.

John McBride of Massillon, Ohio, was elected president by acclamation.

For vice-president there were three nominations, viz., P. H. Penna, T. W. Davis and Geo. S. Boyle. T. W. Davis was elected.

For general secretary Wm. T. Lewis of Shawnee, Ohio, was elected by acclamation.

For financial secretary-treasurer the nominees were: James Cantwell, J. J. Fitzpatrick and Patrick McBryde. Patrick McBryde was elected.

On the executive board the following were elected: James Cantwell, John Young and J. J. Fitzpatrick.

Columbus was selected as headquarters for the organization.

Voluntary subscription was taken up amounting to \$28.55.

Motion that the board, at the proper time, appoint an auditor, adopted.

A pledge to stand by the officers and the organization was then adopted by a rising vote.

A vote of thanks was tendered the officers, and the convention adjourned.

W. T. LEWIS, Chairman.
CHRIS EVANS, Secretary.

PREAMBLE.

The grievances of miners and mine laborers everywhere are similar in character, and the inexorable law of supply and demand determine the point where our interests meet. This has led to indiscriminate cutting of market prices and unnecessary reductions in our wages, which are no longer regulated by our skill as workmen or the value of the products of our labor, but by competition with cheaper labor. Accidents and bad air tell the story of mismanagement that too often carries death and desolation into our households, and to guard against this evil we must strive to secure the enactment of more stringent laws providing for employers' liability; the prohibition of child labor; the examination and appointment of competent persons for mine inspectors and for fire bosses in mines where gas is generated; a uniform system of weighing coal before screening, and for the crushing out of that swindling machine, the "truck system," together with the practice on part of employers of importing foreign cheap labor to their mines. Free speech, too, should be guaranteed by law, and a proper exercise of the ballot will give us the protection needed to cure the above evils; but upon matters of wages and obnoxious rules that oppress and rob us, we should not look to legislative bodies for protection. It would be unmanly for us as miners to ask either national or State Legislatures to exercise a paternal surveillance over us and the difficulties which we ourselves can supervise and control, and recent and repeated experiments have clearly shown that upon no friendship and liberality can a miner so surely rely as upon the mutual co-operation of himself and his fellow-miners. The experience of the past few years has been full of disappointment and bitterness, and to prevent like results in the future we must realize and act upon the realization that there can be no protection or influence from individuals disunited or irresolute. The only safeguard to our craft is in the unity of its members, their intelligence and earnest co-operation. To protect ourselves from injustice and defend honest enterprise in mining business, it is necessary that we all stand on common ground and mutually defend our rights. To leave to the cunning manipulation and implacable greed of employers the settlement of wages and the degree of comfort that miners and their families shall enjoy would be as stupid as it is cowardly. The objects of the National Progressive Union, if carried out honorably, would be the best guard against idleness through strikes. It would prevent tramping and banishment, and restore to miners and mine laborers more privileges and comforts than they now enjoy.

"All men are brothers,
So the watchword runs;
And when men act as such
There is justice done."

CONSTITUTION.

Article I.—Name, Objects and Jurisdiction.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers, and shall be composed of all persons working in and around the mines of the United States and Territories, and who are members of the affiliated local unions.

Sec. 2. The objects of this union shall be to afford mutual protection to members against obnoxious rules and other systems of injustice and oppression; to unite mine employes and ameliorate their condition by methods of conciliation, arbitration or strikes.

Sec. 3.—The National Progressive Union shall have jurisdiction over all affiliated district and local unions.

Article II.—Officers and Their Duties.

Section 1. The officers of this union shall be one president, one vice-president, one secretary, one financial secretary-treasurer, and an executive board of five members, two of whom shall be the national president and secretary, who, by virtue of their offices, shall be president and secretary of the executive board.

Sec. 2. The president shall preside at all conventions of the union; appoint all committees required during sessions, and shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, except in the election of officers but he shall not vote upon any other question unless he is an accredited delegate. He shall sign all official documents when satisfied of their correctness. With the consent of the executive board, he shall fill by appointment all vacancies occurring in national offices, and in like manner he is empowered to suspend and remove any national officer for insubordination or just and sufficient cause. He is authorized to visit any district union, to inspect and participate in its proceedings, and to require compliance to the laws, rules and usages of the national union. He shall, with the consent of the executive board, appoint, from time to time, such organizers and workers as may be required; he shall devote his time and attention to the interests of the union, and exercise a general supervision of its workings, either in the field or in the national office, as his judgment dictates or the exigencies of the case require.

Sec. 3. The vice-president shall act as general organizer and field worker, and in his work shall be subject to direction by the president. In case of death or removal of the president, the vice-president shall assume the duties of the president.

Sec. 4. The secretary shall have charge of all books, papers, and effects of the national office, except those belonging to the office of financial secretary-treasurer; record proceedings of all conventions, act as secretary of the executive board and record its acts. He shall keep all documents, papers, accounts, letters received and copies of important letters sent out by him on business of the union; draw all warrants on the treasury, see that they are signed by the president, and perform such other duties as may be assigned him, from time to time, by national conventions or by the executive board.

Sec. 5. The financial secretary-treasurer shall receive and receipt for all dues, levies and assessments; pay all warrants drawn upon him by the secretary and signed by the president; prepare and submit a quarterly statement of the financial condition of the union, and at each annual convention submit a complete report covering his term of office. He shall keep a separate account of the money received for and paid out of the different funds, and give such security for the faithful performance of his duty as may be required of him by the executive board.

Sec. 6. The executive board shall also constitute the national board of arbitration and conciliation, and in all disputes that affect more than one district shall have full power to adjust by mutual agreement with employers or by arbitration, and if employers within the affected districts refuse to allow an adjustment by these methods, the board may, if deemed best, order a strike at all mines affected by said dispute, and provide for the support of those on strike. In the absence of national conventions the board shall have full power to direct the workings of the national union in all matters affecting its interests.

Sec. 7. In the event of trouble in any district, which demands the attention of the national board, the board shall call to their assistance and give voice and vote in their deliberations to the president of the district affected.

Sec. 8. The board shall be convened by the president, or in case of a disagreement between members of the board and the president, the secretary shall, when requested by three members of the board, call the board together.

Article III.—Revenue and Its Objects.

Section 1. The revenue of the national union shall be derived from local unions, which shall pay direct to the finan-

cial secretary-treasurer a per capita tax of 6 cents per month for all members (and fractional members in proportion), in good standing at the end of the preceding month, and the amount thus paid shall be used to defray current expenses.

Article IV.—Conventions and Representation.

Section 1. The annual conventions of the National Progressive Union shall be held in February of each year, commencing at 2 o'clock p. m., at such place as may be determined upon from time to time by preceding conventions. Special conventions may be called by the president when so instructed by the executive board, or upon request of three district unions.

Sec. 2. Representatives to national conventions shall be elected by district unions, in such manner as they deem best, and each district shall be entitled to one representative for every 500 members, or the major fraction thereof, in good standing; each district shall furnish proper credentials to, and pay the expenses of their own representatives.

*Article V.—Qualifications and Election of Officers.—
Salaries and Term of Office.*

Section 1. The officers of the national union shall be elected by ballot, at the annual conventions for a term of one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified.

Sec. 2. Any member in good standing is eligible to hold office in the national union.

Sec. 3. In addition to all necessary expenses the salaries of national officers shall be as follows: President, \$1,200 per year; vice-president, \$3 per day when employed, Sundays excepted; secretary, \$1,000 per year; financial secretary-treasurer, \$900 per year; members of executive board, when employed, \$3 per day.

Article VI.—Working District Limits.

Section 1. To expedite the work of the national union, the coal fields are hereby divided into working districts as follows:

- District No. 1.—The anthracite coal fields.
- District No. 2.—Maryland.
- District No. 3.—Pennsylvania mines shipping coal East.
- District No. 4.—Pennsylvania mines shipping coal West.
- District No. 5.—Coke region of Pennsylvania.
- District No. 6.—Pennsylvania mines shipping coal by river.
- District No. 7.—Virginia.

- District No. 8.—West Virginia railroad mines.
- District No. 9.—West Virginia river mines.
- District No. 10.—Ohio.
- District No. 11.—Indiana.
- District No. 12.—Northern and central Illinois.
- District No. 13.—Southern Illinois.
- District No. 14.—Iowa.
- District No. 15.—Missouri.
- District No. 16.—Kansas.
- District No. 17.—Colorado.
- District No. 18.—Tennessee and Kentucky.
- District No. 19.—Alabama.
- District No. 20.—_____.

Article VII.—Market Districts.

Section 1. For the purpose of securing concerted action on any change of mining rates, the local unions located in States or parts of States whose coal competes in common markets, shall constitute market districts. When necessary to hold meetings of such districts, they shall be convened by authority of the national executive board.

Article VIII.—District Unions—How Composed—Jurisdiction.

Section 1. District unions shall be composed of miners and mine laborers working within limits of districts outlined by national constitution.

Sec. 2. Each district union shall have jurisdiction over all local questions affecting the district, and shall make such laws and rules, and elect such officers for the governing of the district as its interests demand, but all laws and rules adopted by district unions must conform to the national constitution.

Sec. 3. District unions shall fix, by resolution, the salaries of all officers elected by them, and the same shall be paid out of the revenues of the district.

Article IX.—Revenue and Its Use.

Section 1. The revenue of district unions shall be derived from local unions within their jurisdiction, which shall pay a per capita tax of 9 cents per month for all members in good standing, said per capita tax to be forwarded direct from each local union to the district treasury, and shall be used to defray the current expenses of the district.

Article X.

Section 1. District unions shall determine methods of forming, governing and numbering of local unions; also pro-

vide for fractional membership in local unions under their jurisdiction.

Article XI.

Section 1. The National Progressive Union shall issue a membership card, which will show the debit and credit account of members. All members shall secure a membership card, properly signed by the president and secretary of his local union, and unless the card shows an arrearage of more than three months, it shall entitle the holder to admission, as a visiting member, into any local union.

Sec. 2. The National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers shall be recognized by its members as an open organization, but at any of its meetings, either national district or local, members shall have the power to go into executive session on matters which the meeting may consider of sufficient importance to call for an executive session.

Sec. 3. The secretary of each district union shall be required to submit a monthly report to the national secretary, giving the condition of the mine employes in the district; the state of organization; a summary of the work done during the preceding month, and such other information as may be required by the national secretary to enable the national officers to advance the interests of the craft. Any member of a local union, on moving from one section of the country to another, shall secure from the local union to which he belongs a clearance card, on the depositing of which, with any local union, he shall be entitled to full membership from date of such card.

Article XII.

Section 1. All persons becoming members of local unions shall pay an entrance fee of \$1, and moneys so collected shall be retained by local unions to defray their local expenses.

Sec. 2. Local unions shall forward to the national financial secretary-treasurer, on or before the twentieth day of each month, the dues accruing to the national union for the previous month, under penalty of suspension.

Sec. 3. In case local unions fail to fulfill obligations placed upon them by district unions, the district secretary will notify the national financial secretary-treasurer, who shall suspend said local unions until they discharge their obligations to or are excused by said district.

Article XIII.—Strikes.

Section 1. Members of local unions feeling aggrieved by unjust measures being forced upon them by employers, shall endeavor to secure redress without resorting to a strike, but failing in this they shall notify the district president who

shall immediately investigate, and should he deem the cause sufficient shall offer to adjust by conciliation or arbitration, and these being refused by employers may order a strike in affected localities. Should a dispute of the above character be likely to require financial assistance from the national union, the district president shall notify the national president to authorize a national officer to act with him in investigating and determining upon the matter in dispute, and a strike being authorized and inaugurated (for certain purposes) it can only be declared off by the demands being complied with or with the consent of those engaged in said strike.

Article XIV.—Amendments.

Section 1. Amendments to this constitution can be made only at a regular annual session of the National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers by a two-thirds vote of the delegates present.

In a circular issued from Columbus, Ohio, December 16, 1888, President John McBride of the National Progressive Union advised the levying of an assessment of 50 cents upon every member connected with the Miners' National Progressive Union for the purpose of enforcing strict compliance in the payment of the wage scale of prices jointly agreed upon between operators and miners, at all mines working under scale rates, and mines working under systems of excessive docking and extortionate charges for mine supplies. The circular was signed by John McBride, president, and W. T. Lewis, secretary. C.H.

A notice was issued for a convention to be held at Bloomington, Illinois, January 3, 1889, to organize a district to be known as the twelfth district of the National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers of America, as organized by the national federation and National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, at Columbus, Ohio, December 5-7, 1888.

As per announcement above recorded, the Miners' State Protective Association of Illinois held its annual meeting at Bloomington, January 3, 1889.

The address of President McLaughlin was sound and energizing, covering a line of suggestions on the screen question, the two weeks pays, the defects and shortcomings of existing mining laws, the eight-hour day, and the necessity of

a law to compel all mine managers and pit bosses to pass a rigid examination as to their competency to fill such responsible positions. The name of the organization was changed to that of District 12, National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers, Northern and Central Illinois. Robert Reid was elected president and William Scaife secretary-treasurer.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION, OHIO MINERS' AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION.

At the eighth and last annual convention of the Ohio Miners' Amalgamated Association, held January 15, 16 and 17, 1889, at Druid Hall, Columbus, Ohio, in his annual address, President John McBride said in part as follows:

Statistics for 1887 place the number of miners and mine laborers in the United States and Territories at 280,000, yet out of this large number less than 60,000 were members of National District Assembly 135, Knights of Labor, and the national federation combined. The constant conflict between these two miners' unions not only obstructed progressive efforts, but at times actually caused reverses. A convention of the two organizations was called, and the members of both were asked to cast aside all personal bias and to send delegates to the convention, instructed, if need be, to kill both old organizations and to erect from their ruins a union that would be acceptable to miners everywhere, regardless of their former affiliations. The convention met in this hall and established, on the 7th of December, 1888, the National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers. The wisdom of the convention's work is evidenced by its endorsement by the members of the late federation, and by a large per cent of the membership of National District Assembly 135. The miners and mine laborers that belonged to neither of the old organizations, but who have endorsed the National Progressive Union exceed in number the entire membership of either National District Assembly 135 or the federation."

The committee on credentials reported the following delegates present:

John McBride, Alexander Johnson, Ebenezer Lewis, Chris Evans, Charles Call, J. C. Hamilton, W. E. Farms, Isaac

Lowrey, Morgan Lewis, J. E. Short, Jerome Gallagher, W. T. Jones, Edmond Thomas, A. B. Davis, J. Kelly, J. A. Donnelly, C. E. Boudinot, Daniel Price, James Powers, John Cox, George Scott, S. A. Wangler, Thomas Pruden, V. E. Sullivan, Amby Lee, Richard Allen, J. P. Jones, John Solan, G. L. Steenrod, James Collins, John T. Tyrell, John A. Grey, Hugh Lynch, John Griffiths, W. H. Turner, John A. Peddicord, Noah Howells, W. H. Bassett, Samuel Llewellyn, F. R. McLain, George Thompson, and John H. Taylor.

After the appointment of committees the convention discussed questions at great length on the necessity of active work, for the upbuilding of the State and National Progressive Unions that were on trial as substitutes for the national federation and the Ohio Miners' Amalgamated Association. It was resolved to disband the latter and organize District No. 10 of the National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers as the State organization. It was also resolved to oppose the manufacture of inferior prison, rat and coolie-made goods; to declare all agreements, heretofore entered into between the Ohio Miners' Amalgamated Association and National District Assembly 135 to be at an end, having faith in its ability to conduct the affairs of local, subdistrict and district organizations without outside interference; that the district be furnished with a seal for use on all official documents; that all miners and mine laborers who were members in good standing of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, National District Assembly 135, Knights of Labor, and mixed assemblies on December 8, 1888, be exempt from the payment of initiation fees to the National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers until March 1, 1889; that all money and property of the Ohio Miners' Amalgamated Association be transferred to District No. 10 of the National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers; that John McBride and Chris Evans act as a committee to assist Honorable N. R. Hysell in securing such legislation as may prove beneficial to the miners of Ohio; that the home of the district president be made the general office of District No. 10 of the National Progressive Union; that the Honorable John McBride, our honored president, having been called to the presi-

dency of the National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers, and, as we know him to be a man fully qualified to fill with credit to himself and honor to the craft that high position, we ask for him that which his ability has always commanded at the hands of the miners of Ohio, viz.: the hearty support of the miners of America. If that be given him we shall have no doubt as to the success of the National Progressive Union. The district officers elected were as follows: President, Chris Evans; vice-president, Alexander Johnson; secretary-treasurer, Ebenezer Lewis; members of executive board, Chris Evans, John H. Taylor, William H. Bassett, John A. Peddicord, V. E. Sullivan. The preamble and constitution adopted follows:

PREAMBLE.

The unequal distribution of wealth centralized in the hands of such a small portion of the people is attracting the attention and directing the thoughtful minds of working men to a closer study of the causes that prevent them from receiving a just and equitable share of the wealth their labor has accumulated. The concentration of the money power among the employing classes is becoming a very important factor in the coal mining industry, and through its powerful influence miners are often made to feel with crushing effect the evil consequences that generally follow.

Intelligent reasoning will justify the fact that no power will protect the miner from the encroachments of unfair employers as well as the combined friendship and support of his fellow craftsmen. In a unification of our forces depends our only hope of success. A practical organization among miners and mine laborers is the best safeguard against the illegitimate practices of unscrupulous operators, and to aid us in procuring a just and fair compensation for the labor we perform we pledge ourselves to carry out the principles of justice to our members, and make a united effort to secure a more equal share of the just fruits of our toil.

Objects.

The object of this union will be to advance the interests of its members, morally, socially and financially; to protect them against the encroachments of unfair employers; to encourage a reduction in the hours of labor in and around the mines; to carry out the principles of conciliation and arbitration in settling disputes between mine employes and operators; to

render assistance toward the enforcement of all mining laws, and to use all honorable means to carry out the principles of our organization in a practical way.

CONSTITUTION.

Article I.—Name.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as District No. 10 of the National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers.

Article II.—Membership and Jurisdiction.

Section 1. All persons working in and around the mines that comply with the constitution and laws of the local, district and national unions shall be entitled to membership.

Sec. 2. The district union shall have jurisdiction over all local unions in Ohio, except upon questions of an interstate character.

Article III.—Officers and Their Duties.

Section 1. The officers of the district shall be one president, one vice-president, one secretary-treasurer and an executive board of five members, one of whom shall be the district president, who, by virtue of his office, shall be president of the executive board.

Sec. 2. The president shall preside at all district conventions, appoint all committees for the work of the convention, sign all official documents, and have the casting vote on all questions that result in a tie, except in the election of officers, but shall not vote on any other question unless he is a duly accredited delegate. Should any vacancies occur in the district officers the president shall be allowed to fill them by appointment, with the consent of a majority of the executive board, and when deemed necessary shall appoint organizers or members of the executive board to transact business for the organization in accordance with its best interests. He shall also be empowered to suspend and remove any district officer for insubordination or just cause, with the consent of the board, and devote his time and attention to advance the interest of the district in such a manner as in his best judgment will promote and better the condition of the members as a whole.

Sec. 3. The vice-president shall act as organizer, and, under the direction of the president, shall work for the best interest of the district and its members. In case of death, resignation or removal of the president, the vice-president shall assume all the duties required of the president.

Sec. 4. The secretary-treasurer shall record the proceedings of all conventions; have charge of all books, papers or other property of the district; receive all moneys due the district from the local branches, give a receipt therefor, and pay all orders on the treasurer after being endorsed by the president. He shall keep an accurate account of moneys from all sources, and furnish weekly statements of receipts and expenditures to the official organ of the National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers for publication, and give a bond of \$2,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and such additional security as may be demanded from time to time by the executive board.

Sec. 5. The executive board, in the absence of district conventions, shall have power to direct the affairs of the district union in all matters requiring their attention for its best interest, and shall constitute the district board for the adjustment of all disputes between mine employes and operators on all questions that affect two or more sub-districts, but grievances of a local nature shall be adjusted, if possible, by the officials of the local or sub-district union affected before they can be considered by the district president or the district executive board. The board shall elect a secretary from their number, whose duty it will be to record all business transactions of the board; and in case of trouble between the president and executive board, the secretary shall have power to call meetings of the board, or conventions if necessary. Members of the executive board shall attend all annual district conventions as delegates-at-large, and together with three members, appointed at each annual convention, shall act as the auditing committee for the district union.

Sec. 6. In case of trouble in any local or sub-district with the employers it shall be the duty of its officials to try and effect a settlement, either by conciliation or arbitration. Failing in this, however, the grievance shall be presented to the district president in writing or otherwise, who shall cause the same to be investigated and settle the difficulty, if possible. Should he fail, he shall consult the district executive board, either through correspondence or by a meeting of the board, and dispose of the question either by suspending work or by any other method they deem best.

Article IV.—Sub-Districts and Local Unions.

Section 1. To facilitate the work of the district, sub-districts shall be formed in the territory formerly occupied by the Ohio Miners' Amalgamated Association, subject, however, to such changes as the members of such sub-district and the

president of the district in their wisdom may deem proper to make.

Sec. 2. The miners and mine laborers of one or a larger number of mines may organize a local union in any sub-district, and any number of local unions in said sub-district may meet jointly, as often as is deemed necessary, for the better protection of their collective interest. Such meetings, however, must be in conformity with the laws of the district and sub-district, of which the local unions are a part.

Article V.—Election of Officers, and Salaries.

Section 1. The officers of the district shall be elected by ballot, at each annual convention, for the term of one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified.

Sec. 2. In addition to all necessary expenses, the president shall receive \$1,000 per year; vice-president, \$60 per month; secretary-treasurer, \$75 per month; members of the district executive board, when employed, \$3 per day.

Article VI.—Revenue.

Section 1. The initiation fee shall be \$1, to be kept in the local treasury for local expenses.

Sec. 2. Each local union shall pay to the district secretary-treasurer a per capita tax of 9 cents per month on each member, and fraction members in proportion, at the end of each month, and forward the same on or before the twentieth day of the following month under penalty of suspension, unless excused for good and sufficient cause.

Article VII.—Conventions and Representation.

Section 1. The annual convention shall be held in January of each year at Columbus, Ohio. Special conventions may be called by the president at the request of a majority of the members of the district executive board.

Sec. 2. Representatives to district conventions shall be elected by the local unions, and shall have one vote for every twenty members or the majority fraction thereof in good standing, and pay their own delegate expenses.

Article VIII.—Cards.

Section 1. The national union will issue membership cards and the local unions shall supply each member with one, to show his standing in the union and entitle him to visit other local unions. The card shall be signed by the president and secretary of the local issuing it, and no person shall hold any

office or be allowed to participate in the business of any meeting unless he can present a legal card showing he is a member in good standing in the district and local union.

Sec. 2. Nominations for district officers shall be forwarded to the district secretary not later than the 15th day of December preceding the annual convention.

Sec. 3. Amendments to this constitution can only be made at annual conventions by a two-thirds vote of all the representatives present.

With the election of W. H. Bassett, Alexander Johnson, Chris Evans, W. H. Turner, John H. Taylor, V. E. Sullivan and George Scott as delegates to attend the joint convention of operators and miners at Indianapolis, Indiana, February 5, 1889, the convention adjourned.

JOHN MCBRIDE, President.

EBENEZER LEWIS, Secretary.

On January 21, 1889, District No. 11 of the National Progressive Union was organized at Terre Haute, Indiana. The convention was in session five days, and re-elected the following officers for the State: P. H. Penna, president; John Kane, vice-president, and T. F. Bolser, secretary-treasurer.

[The *National Labor Tribune*, February 16, 1889.]

The *National Labor Tribune* extends sympathy and condolence to President Chris Evans of District No. 10 of the National Progressive Union upon the death of his wife, which sad event occurred on the 11th inst., at the family residence, New Straitsville, Ohio. A bereavement of this character is the most afflicting that man is called upon to bear, and we feel that words of sympathy are lacking in the essential of consolation at such a time.

CHAPTER XXXV.

FOURTH ANNUAL JOINT CONVENTION OF MINERS AND OPERATORS, INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA, FEBRUARY 5-7, AND COLUMBUS, OHIO, MARCH 12-14, 1889.

The convention was called to order by Alexander Dempster, who spoke as follows:

Gentlemen—We have met again in friendly concord to settle the prices of mining for the coming year—the year 1889—and we want to act in such a way that we will be governed by the circumstances that surround the case, looking at the general law of supply and demand, which is the governing rule in business. Considering the interests of one as the interests of both sides, let us act in harmony and with a view to conform to the interests of the employers and employes in such a way that it will promote the welfare of the miners and operators for the coming year. The first business in order will be the appointment of committees on credentials, and, following the order of last year, let each delegation nominate its own member of that credential committee. Now will each of the sections, both of miners and operators, prepare their nominations? We will give you a few minutes for consultation.

The following committee on credentials was named—Indiana operators, W. E. Eppert; miners, P. H. Penna. Ohio operators, G. G. Hadley; miners, Alexander Johnson. Pennsylvania operators, D. M. Anderson; miners, John D. Conway.

Mr. Lewis—I think it is only proper for the miners from their own State to nominate their committee on credentials. It does not look well for a man from Ohio to nominate a man on the committee from Pennsylvania. I nominate John D. Conway. Mr. Rea—I nominate Robert Watchorn.

The Chair—The gentleman is out of order in that nomination as it stands. The Pennsylvania miners have the right to nominate their own man, and if the Pennsylvania miners can not agree they had better retire and consult.

Mr. Lewis—I would like a ruling from the chair on one point. In the nomination of a committee on credentials, Indiana, I believe, as one of the districts, has a right to nominate the candidate for their committee; Ohio is accorded the same

privilege. So are the other districts. It is understood, I believe, that this is a convention of competitive districts. If I understand the principles underlying this convention, it seems to me that those outside of the competitive districts have no right to participate in the nomination of a committee on credentials, and I wish a ruling from the chair whether those outside of the competitive districts have a right to dictate to those in the competitive districts.

The Chair—The chair would rule thus: That the members or delegates from districts where the operators and miners are both represented shall have the privilege of the convention; that where there are delegates not represented by delegates from the other side they shall have the courtesies of the convention—i. e., have a voice but not a vote. If the operators are not here, the ruling then would give the miners from such districts a voice in the convention, but not a vote.

Mr. Foster—That was the ruling last year. I move that the rules and order of business governing the last convention at Pittsburg be adopted as the rules and order of this convention. I make the motion simply to facilitate business, and it will interfere in no way with the report of the committee on credentials:

Motion seconded and carried.

The Chair—Is the Pennsylvania delegation ready to report? Who is the chairman of that delegation?

Mr. McBride—I understand that there are both operators and miners here from West Virginia, and we might allow them to make their selection pending this settlement of the Pennsylvania question.

A Delegate—I move the secretary of the convention call West Virginia.

The Chair—Is it the will of the convention that West Virginia shall be called?

Agreed to.

West Virginia—Operator, D. R. Brooks; miners, Jeremiah Mead and M. F. Moran.

Pennsylvania miners were again called to report their nominee.

A Delegate—The committee has agreed on Patrick Murphy.

A Delegate—I nominate Mr. Patterson. I wish to say that the delegation can not agree. We submitted those names for the convention to choose from.

The Chair—Mr. Murphy, Mr. Conway and Mr. Patterson are the names before the conver

Mr. McBride—The nomination that has been made by Mr. Rea strikes me as not in keeping with the spirit of this movement. He is from eastern Pennsylvania, a section from which there are no operators represented, and my judgment is that he has no right to make a motion of any kind in this convention. I am not opposed to any man voicing his sentiments upon questions to be considered here in mapping out the methods to be pursued by committees or anything else, but I am certainly opposed to the operators or miners from the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania coming in here and having a voice in these proceedings without both sides are present. If there be a representative of the miners here from that section and of operators also, they are both entitled to a vote. If there are operators here from sections of this competitive district from which no miners appear, those operators are entitled to a voice but not a vote, and the same rule will apply to the miners. But a man coming here, whether miner or operator, whose interests are not within these competitive districts, has no right whatever to either a voice or a vote, in my judgment. Therefore, I move you that any man, be he miner or operator, who resides outside of this competitive district be entitled to neither a voice nor a vote in this convention.

Mr. Lewis—I second the motion.

Mr. Foster—I would submit, as a question of order, that this is a matter solely for the miners to decide in which the operators have no vote nor have they a voice. My judgment is that it is a question merely of who shall represent the miners from Pennsylvania. I may be wrong in my conception, but I submit it to the will of the convention.

Mr. Watchorn—I would like to say that the remarks made by Mr. McBride are a little out of tune. The name submitted to this convention from West Virginia, or western Pennsylvania, was made by a man coming from his own district and not by Mr. Rea.

Mr. Patterson—I withdraw in favor of Mr. Conway.

A Delegate—I move you that the Pennsylvania delegation withdraw and agree upon a member for that committee.

P. H. Penna—In nominating a person for any position, my understanding is that two or more names be presented, and since the Pennsylvania delegation can not and have not agreed upon their man, and there are two names now before this convention for a place upon this committee, it seems to me that the proper method would be to elect one of these men. If the operators do not wish to vote we can settle it on this side of the house very readily. The right given to each State to select their own man on each one of these several committees is

only a matter of courtesy, and we can by parliamentary law insist that the convention appoint in this case. It seems to me that it is a question for the delegates present to make the choice for them.

The Chair—If my memory serves me right, and I believe it does, the decision of last year was that members not represented by the other side could not have a vote, but could have a voice, in the convention. If they don't have a vote they can't present a man's name who has a vote. Therefore, I hold that they had no right whatever to present Mr. Murphy's name.

The line of argument as to what miners from Pennsylvania and operators from the river district were entitled to act on the credential committee and to seats as delegates, entitled to voice and vote in the convention, continued for some time, participated in by Chairman Dempster, John McBride, DeArmit, Robbins, Conway, Watchorn, Patrick McBryde, Colonel Yeoman, Foster, Penna, Wood and William T. Lewis, after which the following communication was read by the secretary:

Col. S. N. Yeoman, City:

Dear Sir—In reply to your note of this date, General Harrison directs me to say that he is not receiving any formal delegations at all, but he would be pleased to see any of his friends informally any afternoon between 2 and 3:30 o'clock.

Very truly yours,

E. W. HALFORD.

Colonel Yeoman — I move Alexander Dempster be continued as the permanent chairman of this convention. All who are in favor of the motion will please say "Aye."

Carried unanimously.

Mr. Dempster—Gentlemen of the convention, I did not expect this at your hands. Of course I can only thank you and feel grateful for our little competition with our friend Penna, in which it was proved that the "Penna" was not mightier than the sword, as it was last year. I hope that our deliberations will be such as will cement us, the operators and the miners, together in such a manner that we shall meet each other on the basis of common interests, which only can result in our being so united as to feel that whilst we have all selfishness enough to take care of our own interests, we will have philanthropy enough to treat others as we would have others treat us. (Applause.)

Mr. Foster—I move that W. T. Lewis be elected secretary of this convention.

Mr. Lewis—I beg leave to withdraw my name, with all due thanks to Mr. Foster for his kindness and courtesy, and I would nominate in my stead Patrick McBryde, the present secretary.

Mr. McBryde—I would be very glad to serve, but my eyes are in such condition that I would prefer having some other secretary to draft the minutes of this convention.

The Chair—All in favor of the election of Mr. McBryde will say “Aye.”

Carried unanimously.

Here convention adjourned to meet at 7:30 o'clock p. m.

TUESDAY EVENING SESSION.

Convention was called to order by the chairman at 8 o'clock p. m.

Colonel Yeoman—I rise to a question of privilege. In presenting same it places me in a very embarrassing position; it is in relation to the admission of the delegates from West Virginia. I am informed that the delegates who have been by our act to not only a voice but a vote and an active participation in the deliberations of this convention are in no sense competitive. Now, if this is true, I can not understand why these gentlemen from West Virginia should undertake to have a representation in this convention. It is with a view to settling this matter before the report of the committee on credentials shall be called for by the chair that I make a motion to reconsider the action of this convention in admitting the delegates on the part relating to the miners and operators of West Virginia in the participation in the deliberations of this convention.

The Chair—All in favor of that motion will answer “Aye” when they are called.

The motion to reconsider was here lost. Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania operators voted “Aye,” and the Ohio, Pennsylvania and Indiana miners voted “No.”

Mr. Blake—As representatives from West Virginia we are not here to beg leave to come into this convention. We present our credentials, and if it is not your will to entertain them we will withdraw.

W. T. Lewis—I think we are a little hasty in this matter. I am not prepared to vote on this question as yet; but whoever says West Virginia is not in this competitive district has not studied the shipments from West Virginia.

After further discussion on the West Virginia situation by Colonel Yeoman and Mr. Blake, and the election of Mr. Strahan as assistant secretary, the report of the committee on credentials was presented by Mr. Penna, as follows:

Mr. Chairman. Your committee on credentials, having examined the credentials, respectfully submit the following names as those who are entitled to seats in this convention:

Pennsylvania Operators—W. P. DeArmit, D. Reisinger, N. F. Sanford, D. M. Anderson, James McCreary, John Blythe, Henry Florsheim, Alexander Dempster, J. J. Steytler, J. C. Disert, W. J. Scully, W. P. Rend, Roger Hartley, George Schleuderberg, F. M. Osborne, Mr. Upson, Alexander Patterson, S. A. Saeger, F. L. Robbins, J. Morton Hall.

Ohio Operators—J. A. Anderson, J. C. Guthrie, E. S. Morton, J. C. Allen, G. G. Hadley, J. J. McKitrick, A. J. Baggs, J. D. Hurd, Moses Morgan, George Brashears, J. F. Harris, J. Morrow, L. V. Brown, G. E. Hall, F. M. Osborne, J. W. Brown, J. C. Hippel, S. J. Patterson, John Bustard, Eben Jones, D. Patterson, H. L. Chapman, John S. Jones, W. P. Rend, W. L. Caten, E. T. Jones, E. Saeger, Thomas Corcoran, J. W. Lowe, H. D. Turney, L. R. Doty, J. S. Morton, Oscar Townsend, T. J. Evans, J. A. Murphy, H. B. Willard, Morrison Foster, G. W. McCook, J. D. Whitmore.

Indiana Operators—S. N. Yeoman, W. H. Perry, C. P. Walker, W. H. Zimmerman, R. W. Rippetoe, H. E. Weaver, E. F. Lawrence, F. M. Sigler, E. L. Winklepleck, John Ingle, Hugh Shirkie, Joseph Wilson, David Ingle, Ed Shirkie, P. H. Blue, M. A. Johnson, J. S. Talley, A. J. Crawford, D. J. Jenne, J. C. Townsend, J. P. Crawford, W. Kenner, John Watson, John T. Cabel, Joseph Martin, Edward Wilton, F. M. Dugger, A. B. Meyer, Thomas Wilson, W. E. Eppert, Thomas Watson.

Pennsylvania Miners—John D. Conway, A. C. Patterson, M. McQuade, Patrick McBryde.

Ohio Miners—John McBride, Johnathan Coslett, Edmond Thomas, Alexander Johnson, Thomas Pruden, George Scott, John H. Taylor, William T. Lewis, Joseph Smart, W. H. Bassett, William H. Turner, Henry Pugh, V. E. Sullivan, T. T. O'Malley, Morgan Lewis, W. T. Jones.

Indiana Miners—P. H. Penna, Frank Lockhart, James McGovern, William Gault, Henry Chase, Thomas Patterson, Joseph Oliver, James Cantwell.

Mr. Penna—Now, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the convention, we have recommended those names to active participation in the deliberations of this convention. There are other names with other recommendations. Is it the pleasure of the

convention that I present those names at this juncture, or will you take action on those already submitted first?

Mr. Nugent—I rise to ask the reason why I was not called on the list of Ohio delegates?

Mr. Beatty—I did not hear my name called. I would like to know the reason why.

Mr. Penna—Mr. Chairman, the reason why those men were objected to was as follows: When we commenced this scale arrangement three years ago it was between the operators of those States and the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers. We continued to do business as such until last year. When last year we were admitted to the convention because of the disturbances among ourselves, the miners and mine laborers, irrespective of organization, concurred, being bound, as we thought, under the circumstances to do so. We felt then, and we are more than ever convinced now, that it was a departure in the wrong direction; and, if you remember rightly, the responsibility of carrying out the scale provisions was shared by both organizations. It was found afterward that one of those organizations was amenable to the scale when it suited them, otherwise not. I am free to admit that had the operators of Indiana, as they threatened to do a year ago, withdrawn from the convention we were with them, and so stated to the convention or to them. The gentlemen are here today present, and know it. I believed then, as I believe now, that one organization is enough to do business with one set of operators; when you come to do business with several there is going to be a weakness somewhere. For this reason we have refused to do this except the National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers be recognized as the body with which the operators are to do business and make this agreement. It is through no personal animosity or feeling whatever, but simply because they represent another labor organization, and for the reasons stated that one organization is enough to shoulder the responsibility and make a contract with one body of operators, and because they are members of the Knights of Labor we object to them, and for that reason alone they are offended.

The Chair—Was this credential from the Knights of Labor assembly or from one of the States?

Mr. Penna—I will read the credentials. They come from Steubenville, from the convention of the Knights of Labor. They are as follows:

“To all Whom It May Concern:

“This is to certify that John Nugent was elected a miners’ delegate by this body to the interstate convention to be held by the miners and mine operators on February 5, 1889.”

Mr. Beatty's credentials were also read.

The Chair—What shall be done with the report of the committee?

Mr. Robbins—I move to amend that part admitting West Virginia operators and miners be stricken out.

The chair declared this out of order.

Mr. Robbins—I move to amend the resolution that this report, as presented by the committee on credentials, be adopted seriatim.

The Chair—All in favor of the motion will say "Aye" when their names are called.

The motion was carried.

A Delegate—I move the report, so far as it relates to Indiana miners and operators, be adopted.

Adopted.

A Delegate—I move that a vote be taken upon the State of Ohio.

The Chair—There is a motion before the house, and which has been seconded, that a vote be taken upon Ohio.

Carried unanimously.

Mr. DeArmit—I rise to a point of order. Can a State vote as to its own representation in this convention?

The chair decided "yes."

Mr. DeArmit—Mr. Chairman, before the Pennsylvania delegation's vote is recorded upon that resolution, I move that the delegation retire and consider the matter.

Recess was taken at this point to permit the Pennsylvania delegation to retire and confer.

The convention reconvened.

The Chair—Are the Pennsylvania operators ready to report?

Mr. DeArmit—Pennsylvania desires to record her vote "No" on any question here which excludes one delegation on account of its membership in a certain labor organization and admits another.

Pennsylvania miners cast two votes, one "Aye" and one "No."

The question being called, the original motion was carried.

Mr. Robbins—I move that we refer the next section of the committee's report back to the committee on credentials.

The Chair—The question is on the admission of the miners from West Virginia.

The motion was put and lost.

Mr. Penna—Now I understand that the men who have been excluded have no vote. As to the Monongahela miners and operators, the recommendation is that they meet together and formulate a scale for themselves; and being, as it is, by operators and miners, that they are not competitors, and are not in any of these competitive districts, they therefore have no business in interfering with the fixing of the scale for this competitive district. But they have the right, and we would recommend that they meet together and fix one for themselves. I move that this part of the committee's report be adopted.

The question being called for, the committee's report, excluding the Monongahela operators from participation in this convention, is adopted.

Mr. Penna—The next question before the house is with reference to the Messrs. Osborne, Nugent, Watchorn, Moran, Kennedy, Beatty and Rea. The committee is divided on it and submit it in that shape to the convention.

Mr. Robbins—I move that such of these gentlemen as are miners from the railroad competitive districts in which the operators are represented be allowed the privileges of this convention.

Seconded.

Mr. DeArmit—Is the objection against all these men the same?

The Chair—All except Mr. Rea of eastern Pennsylvania, who resides outside of this competitive district. Mr. Watchorn's credentials were dated at Steubenville, Ohio, and he comes here representing miners from Pennsylvania.

Mr. Watchorn—As a national officer it is my duty to roam around considerably, and at the meeting in Steubenville I represented the local assembly in Pennsylvania.

Motion made to adjourn until Wednesday morning, 10 a. m.

Carried.

WEDNESDAY MORNING SESSION, FEBRUARY 6, 1889.

The convention was called to order at 10 a. m.

Mr. Penna—I wish to make an explanation in regard to a statement I made yesterday when presenting the report of the committee on credentials, in regard to why we recommended the rejection of this set of men. It is not because they are Knights of Labor, but because they are members of District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor. I wish to make that statement in order to prevent our being placed in a false light before this convention. From what has been said by some of the operators present on the question of rivalry between the

two miners' national organizations it has been made manifest that they also were somewhat interested in the outcome, having asked questions from the quarreling factions as to their standing as members, and their desire to be fair with the members of both.

Mr. Rea said in part:

Let me here say that so far as representation is concerned, we come here, representing, I am satisfied, as large a body of men as is to be found on the other side. Let me tell you that the verdict has not yet been given. The time has not yet come to count the votes, because the whole circumstances are not yet fully known. If we are to judge, my friends, from events that have transpired, we are able to forecast a verdict, but I tell you that the verdict in favor of No. 135 is an addition to its membership equal to 3,000. In the Hocking valley alone its growth is unprecedented, and there is one man on this floor that can say his local has added 100 members to its organization in the last month. Now you know our circumstances.

William T. Lewis—The gentleman from Ohio has referred to the membership of No. 135, and it is but fair that you hear the other side. One year ago when I represented Assembly No. 135 we had a membership of 28,000. We were in the majority. I want to state here in answer to Colonel Rend, who spoke yesterday, that we are here to submit to a majority. However, the membership of No. 135 was reduced from that time until December last to 10,819 in the whole United States, scattered through fifteen States and Territories. The membership in this competitive district is as follows at present: West Virginia, 388; in the State of Indiana, composing as it does this competitive district, 480; in the States of West Virginia and Pennsylvania, comprising as they do all of that competitive district, something like 9,000; Illinois has 414. I just give you these few figures that you may determine this question without wrangling any more about it.

Mr. Watchorn—Now I have no desire to magnify our side of the case or speak derogatively of the other. But I can say that No. 135 was never in a more capable condition to enter into an agreement than they are today. They ask you to ignore that altogether. We came as a bona fide organization, and we ask you to decide whether or not we will be accepted as such, and if not we will withdraw and be governed accordingly.

John McBride—I will answer the gentleman with the permission of the convention. I can say that the representatives of the Ohio miners on this floor represent a bona fide membership greater than there is in No. 135 in the whole United States and Territories. I will prove it. In the convention

held last December in the city of Columbus there were delegates present from the Ohio miners' association representing an actual membership of over 11,000. At that convention we extended an invitation to the miners of that State who were not members of the association, but were willing to join hands with the association in going into a progressive union, and the actual number of miners represented in that convention from Ohio and who are represented on this floor was 14,330. Now, then, I want to say this: The credentials of Mr. Watchorn, as certified by Mr. Rea, that he is an accredited delegate to represent the miners of the United States and Territories, are misleading.

A Delegate—That's right.

John McBride—Here is a credential for Mr. Beatty to represent the miners from certain Ohio mines whose representatives sit on the floor of our body. These miners did not delegate powers to come here and represent them, but a convention was held at Steubenville, Ohio, and in that convention, according to these certificates, these men were not selected by that convention, but they are authorized to represent the Sherrodsville mines, and John Campbell, a delegate from Sherrodsville to Steubenville, gives the power to that delegate to represent the miners of Sherrodsville in this convention. Joseph Clemmens, from the Sommers mines at Sommerdale, Ohio, delegates Mr. Beatty to represent the miners. Miners who belong to the Progressive Union will abide by its rulings. I want to ask Mr. Townsend, on the operators' side, if he does business with and ever settled anything with Assembly No. 135? We ask is it fair when the miners have thus selected delegates to represent 14,330 members if they should be placed on an equal basis with others who represent but a few mines? One man might be delegated to represent the entire miners of Ohio. I want to say in deference to Mr. Nugent of New Straitsville, he is delegated powers by J. H. Meyers, a boss of the mines. That is a fact.

The Chair—This debate is becoming too generally scattered. The question is on the admission of these men, and the only question is, are they the representatives of the majority of the miners or are they not?

The question being called, as per decision of the chair, the vote was as follows:

Indiana Operators—One-half aye and one-half nay.

Indiana Miners—Nay.

Pennsylvania Operators—Aye.

Miners—No.

Ohio Operators—No.

Miners—No.

The result of the vote is against the admission of the gentlemen in question.

John McBride—I move you that they be extended the courtesies of this convention; that they have a voice and seat, but no vote.

The motion was seconded and carried.

The Chair—There is nothing before the convention. The next business in order is the appointment of a scale committee. Will the States nominate their men as their names are called?

Indiana Operators—David Ingle, M. A. Johnson.

A Delegate—I move you we take a recess.

Carried.

After recess, convention was called to order and the committee was continued as follows:

Indiana Miners—P. H. Penna, James Cantwell.

Ohio Operators—H. L. Chapman, H. D. Turney.

Ohio Miners—John McBride, William T. Lewis.

Pennsylvania Operators—George W. Schleuderberg, John Blythe.

Pennsylvania Miners—John D. Conway, Patrick McBryde.

The Chair—What is the will of the convention? Shall the convention take a recess until the committee reports? The committee will please retire and get to work.

Colonel Yeoman—I move that this convention take a recess until 4 o'clock this evening in order to give the members of this convention who are not on this scale committee an opportunity to call upon the president-elect.

The motion, being put to a vote, was carried.

The convention assembled at the appointed hour of 4 p. m. and proceeded to business.

The Chair—The convention will now come to order for business. The committee on scale will please report.

Mr. Penna—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the convention, as chairman of the scale committee I wish to report to you that we can not agree on a base scale. There is a difference of opinion as to the propriety, as far as regards the State of Indiana entering into the negotiations for a future price to take effect May next, based upon the present base scale. We simply wish to have further instructions before we proceed in the matter.

On motion of Mr. Schleuderberg of Pennsylvania that the committee adopt the base scale of last year for this year, the

question as submitted resulted in the following vote by the members of the committee:

Indiana operators, no, 2; Indiana miners, yes, 2; Ohio operators, yes, 2; Ohio miners, yes, 2; Pennsylvania operators, yes, 2; Pennsylvania operators, yes, 2.

The Chair—You have heard the report of the committee. What shall be done with it?

Colonel Yeoman—What is the nature of this report before the convention?

The Chair—As the chair understands it, it is a majority and a minority report. Ten report in favor of accepting the base scale for the coming year and two of that committee have reported against it. That seems to the chair to be the report of the committee.

Colonel Yeoman—I move you, upon the part of the State of Indiana, so far as it relates to Indiana, to amend the majority report by making the base scale for Indiana 60 cents for bituminous per ton, and block coal 70 cents.

After extended remarks in support of the amendment by Colonel Yeoman, together with statements made by Colonel Rend against it, another delegate said:

It seems to me the amendment offered would be virtually the adoption of the minority report of your committee in another form, because it is in favor of the minority report; and I think it is out of order. I call for the question of the majority report.

The chair rules that the amendment is in order.

After continued debate, in which John McBride and Colonel Yeoman took leading parts, Mr. Johnson asked the colonel if he would give way for a motion for a recess. To this the Colonel yielded a few minutes later, and the convention adjourned to meet next morning at 9 o'clock.

Convention met pursuant to adjournment, with President Dempster in the chair.

Lengthy arguments were again indulged in between Colonel Rend and Colonel Yeoman on the ability of the latter to get into the markets on equal terms with other competitive States represented, when a delegate said:

I rise to make a suggestion to this convention. If this convention is ever to get through with the business it should adopt some rule limiting the length of the speeches made. I move that the time be limited to ten minutes, and that each speaker be allowed to address the meeting but once.

A Delegate—Say five minutes.

The Chair—There is a motion and a second before the house to limit the speeches to ten minutes.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Johnson, Operator—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the convention, I simply want to bring your attention to a few points in this matter. I do not think I will consume half of the ten minutes. The only point I will make is this: Although these discussions may be considered lengthy, I take it that the consideration of these questions is a very much better way than the former practice we used to have to determine them by brute force. With reference to Colonel Rend, in one of his points he intimated, rather by the mode in which he presented it than by the words, that the operators of Indiana desired to place the burden by an apparent reduction of prices upon the miners. That certainly is not the case. The question that we are fighting is the relative price, and you miners certainly understand it, that a relative scale as between Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana, as far as the question under discussion is concerned, does not affect your interest at all. It is only a question as to the operators. When the scale is fixed the price goes down or up as that may be. Therefore, you may disabuse your minds on that.

In the discussion that followed this statement of Mr. Johnson, questions were asked and answers given, but none seemed to meet the point of adjustment on the position taken by the Indiana operators.

Mr. Chapman—I believe that the operators should come forward before this convention and say, "Gentlemen from Ohio, Pennsylvania and Indiana, both operators and miners, that scale was a fair one, a just one," as we admitted it to be in times past. If they want a reduction upon that base scale as agreed upon, let them say, with all candor, to the miners of Indiana, "We want you to reduce the digging price 10, 15 and 20 cents a ton."

Colonel Yeoman—I want to clear my skirts of having made such a statement as you make—that the reduction of this base scale would reduce the price of mining upon the part of the miners. I would like to know from you, because we might as well face the music.

Mr. Chapman—We intend, Colonel Yeoman, upon the part of Ohio operators, with the miners of Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania, if this movement breaks up, to place the responsibility where it belongs.

Colonel Yeoman—I am not frightened at the threats from the gentleman from Ohio. I will accept all responsibility that I assume in this convention. Now, what price is your scale price?

Mr. Chapman—Where?

Colonel Yeoman—That you pay in Ohio.

Mr. Chapman—It is based on 60 cents.

Colonel Yeoman—What is the thickness of your coal?

Mr. Chapman—It varies, Colonel Yeoman, from three to four feet and four feet four inches.

Colonel Yeoman—What do you pay for mining that coal?

Mr. Chapman—in about one-half of our district we are paying 70 cents and in one-half 75 cents.

Colonel Yeoman—What do you pay your drivers?

Mr. Chapman—\$1.50 to \$1.75 a day. Let me answer your question, Colonel Yeoman: A miner whom we pay from \$1.50 to \$1.75 in our field will not produce to the operator of our field more than one-half the number of tons of coal that the miner performing the same labor will produce in the State of Indiana.

Colonel Yeoman—I admit that, Mr. Chapman.

Mr. Chapman—As John McBride has well said, we find in all the districts in Indiana, Ohio and other localities different conditions existing in the various districts, but when we come to bring our coal to the same markets they bring substantially the same prices.

Colonel Yeoman—Indiana wants a fair chance at Illinois, but you won't let her have it.

Mr. Chapman—I am glad to hear the gentleman from Indiana admit to the miners here "the milk in the cocoanut." Illinois has been loose handed, and Indiana has been tied up and wants to be loose, too. I admit the gentleman's position—the statement he has made. But, gentlemen, that is begging the question; they have not produced one argument from beginning to end except as to the competition in northern and southern Illinois. If their position be correct, would it not be as proper to apply the same theories and principles to Ohio and Pennsylvania? They were both in the Chicago market as early as the Illinois fields.

A Delegate—I rise to a point of order. The time is up.

The Chair—His time is not up.

Mr. Chapman (resuming)—Now, gentlemen, I was going to say this, that the territory that has been consuming Ohio coals and western Pennsylvania coals north of the C., L. & C. railway, west and northward of the I., B. & W., taking in the

cities of Toledo and Indianapolis, is taken from us; hence if Ohio and western Pennsylvania are not to seek the markets of the Northwest, and upon a fair and equitable basis of things, where in the world are they to sell their product?

Colonel Yeoman—If you have lost your natural market, Indiana should not be called upon to follow the example.

Mr. Chapman—In reply to the gentleman, I would say: Why should Indiana seek a market for its coal that it has lost in Indianapolis?

The Chair—Are you ready for the question? All who are in favor of the motion of amending the majority report of the committee on scale by reducing the bituminous coal of Indiana to 60 cents and block coal to 70 cents will answer by States.

Called by States, Colonel Yeoman's amendment was lost.

Colonel Yeoman—I am instructed by the Indiana operators to ask that they be permitted to retire for conference before voting on the adoption of the majority report.

At this point a short recess was taken.

The Chair—On calling the meeting to order again, we are ready to vote on the question of the adoption of the majority report of the scale committee. All in favor of that will answer "Aye" as their names are called.

Colonel Yeoman—in explanation of our vote we still consider that the position we occupy upon this matter is fair. I will say, in justice to one of the Indiana operators, who claims this base scale as his baby, that this base scale is all right; the majority think it is unfair and always believed it was unfair and that they were right in opposing it. I think we have demonstrated it on this floor as well as it is possible to demonstrate an unknown quantity like this. But in order to show to this convention that the Indiana operators are honestly the friends of this federation, I voice the vote of the Indiana operators "Aye" on this.

Indiana operators—Aye.

Indiana Miners—Aye.

Ohio Operators—Aye.

Ohio Miners—Aye.

Pennsylvania Operators—Aye.

Pennsylvania Miners—Aye.

Carried unanimously.

Colonel Yeoman—I now move that this convention adjourn until the second Tuesday in April.

Mr. Lewis—I move that this convention adjourn until tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock.

Colonel Yeoman—The reason of my motion is this: I am satisfied that if we were to spend all day tomorrow here in this convention endeavoring to agree upon the scale of prices to be paid for the next year we could not agree.

John McBride—I believe it would be wisdom on the part of the operators and miners both to adjourn until tomorrow morning and then consider the reasons for this adjournment suggested by the Indiana operators. I confess to a willingness on my part to do what is best.

Colonel Yeoman—I withdraw my motion, Mr. Chairman.

The Chair—Will you allow me to state in a minute my views? If I understand the question correctly it is that the greatest trouble the Indiana people have is the Illinois competition. Is that right, Colonel Yeoman? As Mr. Lewis stated, it is a case in which Pennsylvania, Indiana and Ohio are equally interested. Now, if we have had a little difference and have had our little war in settling this base scale, should we not unite to fight that common enemy and meet it? It seems to me that it would be folly to adjourn this convention until knowing what we expect to do without having a meeting of the scale committee and see at what time we should adjourn this convention to.

Mr. DeArmit—I move that the scale committee be instructed to proceed to complete their work, setting a price on the scale adopted.

Seconded and carried.

Colonel Yeoman—The Board of Trade of the city of Indianapolis has tendered an excursion for this body around the Belt railroad, and are prepared to take us out on this excursion at 11:30 this morning. We haven't much time.

Mr. Martin—I move that we accept the invitation of the Board of Trade and go on this excursion.

The Chair—You have heard the motion. All in favor of accepting the invitation so kindly extended say "Aye."

Carried.

The Chair—All in favor of adjourning until 2 o'clock this afternoon say "Aye."

Carried.

The Chair, after recess—Are you ready to hear the report of the scale committee?

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Convention:

Your committee on scale beg leave to report their inability to arrive at any agreement at this time upon any price, and we ask the convention to grant further time, and suggest that the convention adjourn to meet again in the city of Columbus,

Ohio, on the 12th day of March, 1889, to receive and act upon the report of this committee.

Colonel Yeoman—I move that the report of the committee be accepted and that this convention adjourn to meet on the 12th day of March next, in the city of Columbus, Ohio.

After ascertaining that some of the delegates could not reach Columbus before the afternoon of the day named, the motion of Colonel Yeoman was adopted, the convention to convene at the date and place named at 4 o'clock p. m.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, MEETING.

March 12-14, 1889.

Convention called to order at 5:20 p. m. by the chairman, Mr. Dempster.

The chair stated that the reading of the minutes of the last meeting was in order.

Secretary Patrick McBryde stated that the Indiana operators had not arrived on time, and that it was suggested by the members of the scale committee to postpone the meeting until 7 o'clock, consequently he had left the minutes at the hotel, not knowing that a meeting was to be held in the afternoon.

On motion the secretary was excused from reading the minutes.

Mr. Johnson—We have just arrived, and since our arrival I ascertain that an arrangement was made for a meeting of the scale committee at 7 o'clock tonight at the Ohio Coal Exchange, Wesley Block. I presume tomorrow morning will be as soon as anything can be done.

Colonel Yeoman—Mr. President, I move that this convention take a recess until tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock.

Motion carried.

Convention called to order at 10 o'clock a. m. by Chairman Alexander Dempster.

The Chair—We took a recess last evening for the purpose of allowing the scale committee to have a conference and report this morning to the convention. Is that scale committee ready to report?

Secretary Patrick McBryde—The scale committee is ready to report.

Mr. Johnson—As chairman of the scale committee I would report that, pursuant to your instructions, the committee held a meeting last night, but, arriving at no agreement concerning prices for mining, adjourned.

Colonel Yeoman—Mr. Chairman, I move that this report of the scale committee be referred back to that committee with instructions from this convention to report specifically how the scale committee stood in the different States upon the question of scale prices.

Secretary McBryde—I will make the motion unnecessary by giving a statement now, if the convention is ready to receive it.

Colonel Yeoman—I withdraw my motion then.

Secretary McBryde—The Ohio and Pennsylvania operators ask for the scale base, which is 60 cents for Ohio and 69 cents for Pennsylvania. The Indiana operators ask for 50 cents for six months and 55 cents for six months for Indiana bituminous coal; for block coal, 65 cents for six months and 70 cents for six months. The miners for the three States want the scale of last year—are willing to equalize the summer and winter rates at one price the year around.

The Chair—You mean the price paid?

Secretary McBryde—Yes, sir.

The Chair—Is that information satisfactory, Colonel?

Colonel Yeoman—Perfectly.

The Chair—What is the will of the convention relative to the report?

Mr. Chris Evans—I understood that so far as the base scale is concerned that point was jointly agreed upon at the Indianapolis convention.

The Chair—That is correct.

Mr. Evans—That being correct, the miners, as I understand it, are still adhering to that on their part as far as the scale committee is concerned. They are also in favor of maintaining last year's prices, but as there seems to be an inclination that the price should be equal the year around, they favor a price of 67½ cents the year around. Am I correct?

The Chair—That is the explanation of the committee.

Mr. Robbins—I move that the report of the committee be filed and the committee discharged.

The Chair—You have heard the motion. Any remarks? If not, all in favor of the motion will say "aye."

The motion was lost.

John McBride—Before Mr. Johnson leaves, I would like to have the operators from Indiana make known to this convention their reasons for the extraordinary demand made upon this convention.

The Chair—That would not be in order at the present time, until we dispose of this report.

John McBride—I called attention to it because of the gentleman going out.

The Chair—What shall be done with the report?

Colonel W. P. Rend—I move that the report be placed on file in order to bring it before the house for discussion.

Motion carried.

Colonel W. P. Rend—I assume that the Indiana operators have nothing to say on the subject. We ought to take up some other matter.

The Chair—The assumption is not well founded. This report is now before this convention for some disposition to be made of it, and we are waiting for a motion to that effect.

John McBride—For the purpose of getting at this business properly, to enable us to understand the reasons for making this report, I would move that the report itself lie on the table for the present.

Motion seconded by Mr. Evans and carried.

John McBride—Now, Mr. Chairman, I would ask that an explanation be made.

The Chair—Mr. Johnson has gone out. Is there any gentleman of the Indiana delegation that is ready to make this explanation?

Colonel Yeoman—Mr. Johnson, I presume, is the only one of our delegation who is authorized to speak for Indiana on that subject.

The Chair—The chair suggests that we take a few minutes recess and give the Indiana people time to prepare their report, which I presume they are now doing.

Mr. Robbins—I move we take a recess of ten minutes.

Motion carried.

The Chair, on the resumption of the session—The parliamentary knot has been cut by the Indiana delegation, which we will accept, and without further formality read their report, which they send in, they themselves having retired.

John McBride—It occurs to me that if the operators of Indiana have not the moral courage to make the report personally, that we should accept nothing of that kind. I am opposed to it.

The Chair—What is the will of the convention?

“Read the report.”

Colonel Yeoman—I rise to a point of order, and that point of order is this, that there is nothing before this convention at this time but the consideration of the scale.

The Chair—The chair rules that the matter has been laid on the table, and it is not to be taken up from the table. This is a communication to the chairman and members of this convention, and I think it ought to be read, and then you can make such disposition of it as you see fit afterward.

The Chair reads the report as follows:

Miners and Operators Association and Gentlemen of the Convention now assembled:

Believing that the differences between the prices named by the scale committee and the prices demanded by the coal operators of the State of Indiana are so great that no adjustment of the same can be made, we hereby, on behalf of said operators, respectfully withdraw from further participation in your deliberations, and decline to be bound by your proceedings. In so doing the operators of said State tender their thanks to each and every member of the convention for the uniform kindness and courtesy extended to them during their intercourse in the past.

F. M. DUGGER,
A. J. CRAWFORD,
DAVID INGLE,
J. SMITH TALLEY,

Committee of Indiana Operators.

Mr. H. L. Chapman—Before the communication is disposed of, I move that a committee consisting of our president and Mr. Townsend be appointed to wait upon the Indiana gentlemen, and have a further conference with them before they leave the city.

The Chapman motion created considerable discussion on the position taken by the Indiana operators, after which the chairman put the question:

All who are in favor of Mr. Chapman's motion will say “Aye.”

The motion was carried.

Mr. Robbins—I move we take a recess of thirty minutes.

Motion carried.

The Chair, after calling the meeting to order—Mr. Townsend, make the report, please.

Mr. Townsend—Mr. Chairman, your committee visited the hotel at which the Indiana operators are stopping, the Neil House, and found that they had gone out to some part of the city to take a walk and we were unable to see them. We left word with their friends at the hotel that we had called. If it is the desire of the convention that this committee proceed further, we ask for a recess of time until 1 o'clock this afternoon.

The Chair—What is the will of the convention? Shall the request of the chairman of that committee be granted? As many as are in favor will say "Aye."

Carried.

Convention adjourned until 1 o'clock.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.

Convention called to order at 2:30 p. m. by Chairman Dempster.

The Chair—Mr. Townsend will make known the report of the committee.

Mr. Townsend—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, it behooves the committee to say that we had to wait some little time for the gentlemen before they returned to the hotel. We had quite an extended conference. The gentlemen from Indiana assert that they can get their mining done at the prices indicated, and that their decision is that they will not take part further in the deliberations of this body.

Mr. Chapman—I move that the report of the committee be received and the committee discharged.

Motion carried.

The Chair—This paper is now before you, gentlemen. What shall be done with it?

Mr. Evans—I move that the report from the Indiana operators be received, and made a part of the proceedings of this convention and placed on the record.

Motion carried.

The Chair—What is the will of the convention?

Mr. Penna, in a very lengthy address, spoke of the causes that had led the Indiana operators to take the position they had, among which were legislative enactments against their best interest; but they have been seeking an excuse to withdraw from this convention, and the secret is given away when Mr. Townsend says that they assert they can get their mining done for the prices named. There is the whole secret. The miners of Clay county, in the State of Indiana, have made propositions to these Indiana operators that they will mine

coal for them at a less rate than that fixed at this convention. I am sorry to see that these prices have come from an organization—a labor organization. I don't know whether they were made final or otherwise, but from members of another labor organization these prices have been made, and there is the whole secret. They wanted their mining done cheaper, and thought they could do it by withdrawing from this convention, and in order to do this they were ready to throw the burden and responsibility on other men. * * * You gentlemen of Ohio and Pennsylvania need not entertain any fears of making a scale because of the conduct of the Indiana operators or miners. If you can agree upon a scale, go ahead and make it for Ohio and Pennsylvania. You may make one for Indiana, too, and we will enforce it or stop, if there be any assistance guaranteed us in the enforcing of it.

Mr. John McBride—We have reached a state in the proceedings of this convention in which we are compelled to consider whether or not there is any necessity for our staying here any longer. With a view of ascertaining the desires of the miners of Ohio and Pennsylvania as well as the operators of these States relative to the formation of an agreement for the future, I move that the convention proceed to the consideration of scale prices for Ohio and Pennsylvania.

Motion carried.

Mr. Robbins—I move that the courtesies of the convention be extended to the Indiana miners. While they have no vote, that we allow them the privileges of the floor.

The Chair—That is the policy of our agreement. The chair decides that the Indiana miners have a place on the floor of the convention, with a right to speak but without the right to vote.

A Delegate—I move that we adjourn for one hour, and that the scale committee of the two States report here at the end of the hour.

Adjournment for one hour.

The Chair on resuming the session—We have just been over to the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Ohio, and saw such good order there that we would like to imitate it here. Is the scale committee ready to report?

Mr. Chapman—As chairman of that committee, I can say that we have had a session and we failed to agree, the miners on their behalf from both States not receding from the position or proposition which they made last night in the scale committee. We made a proposition to them as authorized by the operators of Ohio and Pennsylvania of 55 cents for the first six months and 60 cents for the next six months, and

there is where the matter stands now, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the convention. Did I state the matter correctly, Mr. McBride?

Mr. John McBride—So far as the figures are concerned, Mr. Chapman has stated the relative positions of the operators and miners correctly. There were certain stipulations, however, connected with our proposition that have not been stated.

Mr. Chapman—Please state them, Mr. McBride.

Mr. McBride, with permission of the chair, explained the position of the miners at great length and gave reasons why present prices should be maintained, instead of a reduction in prices as proposed by the operators. Among other things he said:

If the conditions stated by the operators of Indiana are realized some time in the future, and until there is a realization of that anticipation of yours, upon which the argument of your committee has been based, there is no reason why we should recede from our position, in our judgment. Hence, we are willing that the prices named by us, if confirmed by this convention, shall be maintained by the fair, honest and impartial consideration and decision of the board of arbitration and conciliation jointly selected by the two States, or by a convention of operators and miners of these two States at any time in the future.

This line of argument was extended by Mr. McBride and Mr. Evans for the miners, and Mr. Robbins, Mr. Patterson and Mr. Morton, who were in favor of the reduced rate proposed by the operators, until the weary hours became long, when Mr. Morton moved to adjourn to meet at half-past 7 o'clock. Motion carried.

WEDNESDAY EVENING SESSION.

Convention called to order by the chair at 8:15 p. m.

Mr. Costello—Mr. Chairman, with your permission and the permission of this convention, I would like to make a brief statement as to the Knights of Labor.

The Chair—Shall the gentleman have the permission?

Mr. William T. Lewis—I want to ask a question of Mr. Costello. Is Mr. Costello going to speak simply as Mr. Costello, or as a member of the joint executive board of the Knights of Labor, representing the Knights of Labor of Indiana?

Mr. Costello refused to answer the question. Mr. Lewis said that he (Mr. Costello) was here in a dual capacity, and he objected to his speaking.

The chair decided that Mr. Costello had a right to speak.

Mr. John McBride—I have no objections towards Mr. Costello making a statement here, but I certainly would like to know, and I believe that this convention would like to know, whether he speaks simply as an individual or as a representative of the Knights of Labor. We want to know it for the purpose of determining within ourselves what weight can be given to it; whether it is simply an individual opinion of his or an official one. I think all the members of this convention would be better satisfied. We have no desire to prevent him from speaking, but we simply want to know so that we can understand what position they are going to occupy, if any.

(Mr. Costello refuses to answer the question, claiming the right of the floor.)

Mr. Schluederberg—I beg permission to ask a question. Perhaps it will come right in line. Perhaps Mr. Costello may have something to say on the subject. There was a statement made on the floor of the house this afternoon, and it has been made on the street, too, that a certain labor organization had voluntarily offered to work 10 cents below the scale. I intend to ask that question. I ask, which labor organization is it?

Mr. John H. Taylor—When the question is asked, when we return home, we can refer it back to where it belongs. I believe I am at liberty to use the gentleman's name, inasmuch as it was no secret on his part. When the delegation of Indiana arrived in the city yesterday, I chanced to meet them on their way up towards the Neil House. Mr. Perry, the general superintendent of the Brazil Block Coal Company, was among them, and he took me by the hand and told me to come back with him, and on the way up towards the Neil House I asked him if there was any truth in regard to the rumor going around if there was any reduction offered in Indiana. He said: "Yes, sir; the Knights of Labor have proposed to mine coal 10 cents per ton below scale rates. I suppose," he says, "that their intention is to break up this movement, but I do not see," he says, "that this is going to better their condition any." That came over the lips of Mr. Perry.

Mr. Penna—Since it has become public, I might say that I think inside of two hours after the proposition was made by an officer, I am almost certain that he said an officer of the Knights of Labor, he called me up to the telephone and told me over the phone what had been said, and it is just in accordance with the language he used to Mr. Taylor.

The Chair—It is for the convention to decide about this matter of Mr. Costello. If some one will make a motion to that effect, we will find out exactly how it stands.

Mr. Anderson—I move Mr. Costello have the privilege of speaking.

Mr. Reisenger—I amend the motion, provided he answer the question asked him.

(Mr. Costello refused to answer the question, and took his seat.)

The question again recurring to the scale of prices presented for the coming year, Messrs. Sanford, Chapman, Evans, Penna, Townsend and William T. Lewis discussed it in all its phases, when the latter said:

This question has been pretty thoroughly canvassed. There is not much that is new. There are not many new features to the question since we last met. It is the same ground being plowed over.

After which Mr. Evans moved as follows:

Mr. Evans—It has been remarked by one of the former speakers that there was nothing new to be said on this question; that it was simply a repetition of what had already been said for us to take up any more time. I am somewhat inclined to agree with the gentleman, and in order to be able to arrive at a conclusion to see what is in this question, I beg leave to move that there be a conference committee of three miners and three operators from each State elected for the purpose of coming to some conclusions and present them to this convention.

Mr. Johnson—I think a point of order exists here. The scale committee has not been discharged.

The Chair—This is a new committee.

Motion carried and scale committee thereby discharged.

The Chair—Name the members of this committee.

Ohio Miners—John McBride, Christopher Evans, W. T. Lewis.

Ohio Operators—Oscar Townsend, Mr. Morton and Mr. Zerbe.

Pennsylvania Miners—John D. Conway, Patrick McBryde, A. C. Patterson.

Pennsylvania Operators—Mr. Dempster, F. L. Robbins and Dr. Anderson.

Mr. Morton—I move we adjourn until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Motion carried.

After the motion to adjourn had carried, Mr. Sandford, operator from Pennsylvania, by permission of the convention said:

I would like to extend to you an invitation to meet the next time in Pittsburg.

It was moved that the invitation be accepted; motion unanimously carried, and the convention adjourned until the next day at 10 o'clock.

THURSDAY MORNING SESSION, MARCH 14, 1889.

Convention called to order at 10:55 a. m., by Chairman Dempster.

The Chair—We are ready to hear the report of the committee.

Mr. Townsend—Your committee begs leave to report that it has been unable to agree.

The Chair—That leaves the whole matter before the convention as it was before it went to the committee. What is the will of the convention?

Mr. Evans—The chairman of the joint conference committee has reported that that conference committee is unable to agree. I think perhaps it would be well for the miners' representatives on that committee to state their position to this convention. While we have been unable to agree on the question of price, without entering into any very lengthy discussion on the subject at all, I want to impress it upon the minds of the members of this convention that we still hold to the principles in connection with the organization upon which we have here assembled. We still believe in adhering to the principles promulgated by that organization. We have no desire to deviate from its principles in any particular, and without any further discussion on the subject I beg leave to move the following resolution as to the conclusions of the miners for the consideration of this convention:

"Resolved, That the question of difference in scale prices for the coming year, commencing May 1, 1889, and ending April 30, 1890, be referred to the conciliation and arbitration board elected by this joint convention of miners and operators, said board to meet not later than April 1, 1889, to decide the question."

Mr. Schluederberg—It is an unfortunate situation we are in; unfortunate for the coal business in general; unfortunate in particular, I think, for coal miners and operators of western Pennsylvania. If the miners' representatives were not afraid of the Knights of Labor they would act here. They are simply afraid that if they make a concession the Knights of

Labor will make another, and say, "I told you so; if you had followed us we would have done better for you." Now, it is my fair and honest conviction that if that was not the case we could do something with you. I am thoroughly convinced that that is the state of affairs. I say that the time has not yet come when we need to put this question in the hands of an umpire.

Mr. Conway — With regard to the remarks of the last speaker, that the representatives from the National Progressive Union from Pennsylvania are afraid of the opposition of the other organization, I wish to say right here they are not afraid of the opposition of any organization in western Pennsylvania. The fact of the matter is that there is no organization outside of the Progressive Union to be afraid of, unless you say that about three hundred miners of western Pennsylvania are an organization.

After an extended discussion on the general situation by Mr. Rend, he said:

Now, then, it is apparent that this question has got to be settled by two methods. We have got to apply two agencies—the agency of force or reason. Gentlemen, which shall we employ? Shall we resort to brutal mine strikes and lockouts again? Is that your wish? Is it the wish of any operator here to go back to the old system, to the old plan of fighting the miners, the plan that entails the loss of capital, the plan which brings with it oftentimes scenes of bloodshed and disorder to the State, and feelings of hostility, feelings of enmity between capital and labor? I do not believe that you want to go back to that old system. The other system is that of reason and intelligence, of using the highest power and the highest faculty that God Almighty has given us. Three or four years ago we decided that the agency of reason was the proper one for us to employ. We met together. Operators and miners both raised their voice in condemnation against the system of strikes that characterized, and I might say brutalized, the industry before. After a great deal of discussion and conferences we found a common standing ground. We formulated scales. We established peace, we established concord, we established good will where before there had been either open warfare or an unfriendly peace and where before there had been discord, hatred and enmity. We have accomplished marvelous results, gentlemen, during the last three years. I do not think that the most sanguine of the originators of this plan had believed that such grand results could be accomplished in so short a time.

It will be observed that the speech of Mr. Rend was conciliatory in tone; in fact from this time forward the expressed desire on the part of both operators and miners in the convention was to avoid the old-time methods of strikes and lockouts. Intelligent reasoning over the vexed problem under discussion was freely advocated on both sides.

The Chair—"Resolved, That the question of difference in scale prices for the coming year, commencing May 1, 1889, and ending April 30, 1890, be referred to the conciliation and arbitration board elected by this joint convention of miners and operators, said board to meet not later than April 1, 1889, to decide the question." That is the motion before the house. Are you ready for the question?

Mr. Reisinger amended the motion, making it the first of the last week in March instead of the first of April.

Mr. Evans—What date would that be on?

The Chair—The 25th.

Mr. Evans—As mover of that resolution I accept the amendment.

The Chair—All in favor of this motion will answer as their names are called.

Ohio operators, "No;" Ohio miners, "Yes;" Pennsylvania operators, "No;" Pennsylvania miners, "Yes."

The Chair—The motion is lost.

Mr. Morton—I move that we adjourn until 2 o'clock p. m.

Motion carried and convention adjourned accordingly.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON.

Chairman Dempster called the convention to order at 4:10 p. m.

The Chair—What is before the house? What is the will of the convention?

Mr. Taylor—I move that this committee of conference be empowered by this body to call in a disinterested party as umpire to arbitrate this question.

The Chair—All in favor of that motion answer as their names are called.

Ohio miners, "Yes;" Ohio operators, "No;" Pennsylvania miners, "Yes;" Pennsylvania operators, "No."

The Chair—The motion is lost.

The discussion that followed was largely a repetition of what had already been said on the question of price for the

coming year, in which every speaker seemed to deplore the thought of having to disagree on the adoption of a future scale of prices to govern mining in Ohio and Pennsylvania for the years 1889-1890.

On resuming business after a recess had been taken for the purpose of exhausting every reasonable means by which prices could be agreed upon, the following statements were made:

On the prices proposed by the operators, Mr. Townsend made the following statement:

Before the recess was taken an inquiry was made as to the doings in the committee room. I am authorized by the operators to state the proposition of the operators, which I will proceed to do, and that was that the price of mining which we would be willing to recommend to this convention was: For the Hocking region, 60 cents in summer and 65 cents in winter; for the Pennsylvania region, 69 cents in summer and 74 cents in winter.

John McBride—On behalf of the miners' delegation I desire to state the proposition made by them was 65 cents for Hocking and 74 cents for Pittsburg for one year.

While not a member of the convention, Hon. N. R. Hysell tried hard to prevent a disruption of the joint movement that had been of so much value to both operators and miners, but the die was cast in the following words:

John McBride—I am sorry that I am placed in the position, as one of the originators of the move, to be obliged to make a motion to adjourn sine die.

The motion was carried and the convention adjourned sine die.

To the Members of the National Progressive Union, and All Other Miners Whom It May Concern:

The joint convention of operators and miners, held in Columbus, Ohio, March 12-14, 1889, has adjourned without having agreed upon a price for mining from May 1, 1889, to April 30, 1890. This failure to agree will be regretted by all who believe in reason rather than force in the adjustment of the differences between operators and miners.

It may be necessary to again plunge into industrial warfare to finally convince both operator and miner that any advantage to be gained by either party, from the dissolution of this movement, can only be temporary. The same causes

that led to the inception of the interstate arrangement will again assert themselves and compel operators and miners to acknowledge the necessity for some such understanding. Many have already learned this lesson; others may have to learn it from that sternest of all teachers—experience.

When our annual convention agreed to adjourn at Indianapolis, it was at the request of the Indiana operators, who stated that the conditions surrounding them were such that they could not agree to our propositions, nor to any that we would accept. They promised, however, that if the convention was adjourned for about a month they would be prepared to meet us with hands untied and in a different spirit.

When we reassembled at Columbus your representatives on the scale committee were met by the operators from Indiana with propositions worse than they submitted at Indianapolis. They demanded a reduction in the block coal field from 90 cents to 65 cents per ton and in the bituminous from 70 cents to 55 cents per ton. They gave as their principal reason for this demand that the members of District Assembly No. 135 had offered to dig coal at those figures. However much influence this offer may have had on the operators of Indiana, we have more faith in the unorganized miners of that State than to believe they will tolerate for a moment any such propositions. And as we could not agree to any such terms, the Indiana operators withdrew from the convention. After their retirement the operators from Ohio and the Pittsburgh district asked for a reduction of 10 cents per ton below this year's prices. After a lengthy discussion they submitted as their final proposition a 5 cents per ton reduction below this year's prices. Your representatives submitted a proposition to them to make the prices for the ensuing year 65 cents for Hocking valley and 74 cents for Pittsburgh district. This proposition the operators refused, and the convention adjourned sine die.

At the miners' convention, afterward held, the following was unanimously adopted:

"The representatives of the miners having been instructed to maintain present scale rates for the ensuing year, and this being rejected by the operators, who insist upon a lower mining rate, the miners' representatives, in the hope of securing an agreement that would allow peaceful and harmonious relations to continue between operators and miners, went even beyond their instructions and proposed summer scale rates 60 as the price for the next year's rate, viz.: 65 cents for Hocking valley and 74 cents for the Pittsburgh district. The operators finally offered, as their highest price for the Hocking valley, 60 cents for the first six months and 65 cents for

the last six months, and for Pittsburg, 69 cents and 74 cents for the first and second half of the scale year. The miners' representatives, feeling that they were not warranted in making any further concession, in the interest of peace voted to adjourn the convention, and now they submit all further consideration of the question of accepting or rejecting a reduction direct to the miners of the entire competitive district, asking them to take such action as will determine the matter, and immediately inform the officers of the National Progressive Union of the result, so that the national executive board may provide for a concerted and united movement to protect the miners' interests."

It being understood that present prices prevail until May 1, 1889, call meetings at once and act on the foregoing, and send the result of your action to the national office before April 1, 1889.

The near future may have serious trouble in store for this competitive district. If we should be prepared to meet it, there is no time to be lost in getting every man into our organization and in readiness to act unitedly on any question presented for your consideration. The responsibility of accepting a reduction or maintaining prices rest with you. As officers of the organization we are ready to execute your wishes.

JOHN MCBRIDE, President.

W. T. LEWIS, Secretary.

Send answers to W. T. Lewis, 43 Wesley Block, Columbus, Ohio.

NATIONAL PROGRESSIVE UNION OF MINERS AND MINE LABORERS.

Columbus, Ohio, April 9, 1889.

To the Miners and Mine Laborers of the United States:

Today the operators of Ohio and the Pittsburg district have submitted the following proposition upon the price of mining for the next year: Hocking valley, 62½ cents for the first six months and 67½ for the last six months; Pittsburg district, 71½ and 76½ cents for the first and last half of the year.

At the late joint convention the miners' representatives offered as prices for the year, Hocking valley 65 cents and Pittsburg district 74 cents. The operators refused to accept the proposition, and now that they offer us a settlement upon a straight 2½ cents per ton reduction below the rates which have prevailed for the past two years, and their proposition being almost if not altogether the equivalent of the one made by us, I would urge upon our miners that the operators' offer

be accepted. I urge the acceptance of the operators' proposition not because I believe any direct benefit will accrue to operators or miners by reason of such reduction, but because it guarantees, even with a continuation of dull trade, such as we are now having, peaceful and harmonious relations between miners and mine operators, prevents an indiscriminate fight for advantage and insures an adjustment of all disputes during the coming year by methods of arbitration and conciliation. It will also re-establish the joint movement of miners and operators, and this, together with the absence of strife and bitterness which must come to many parts of the competitive district without an agreement, is well worth our sacrificing $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per ton. If no agreement is effected between this and May 1, strikes in many parts of the district are inevitable, and these necessitate the contribution of large sums of money from working miners to aid those who are contending for price, and who suffer not only from loss of wages, but too often from hunger's gnawing pains. The vote of miners at the different mines in the competitive district upon the circular issued by us immediately after the adjournment of the joint convention indicates a very general desire to maintain scale rates, but in nearly every case we are urged to use all honorable means in our power to avoid a strike. The position of the miners' delegates at the joint convention was heartily indorsed, and it is owing to this, to the general stagnation in trade and to the inability of miners to carry a strike to a successful termination at this time and under existing conditions that I ask you now to be guided by my advice and accept this reduction of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per ton below last year's rates. My honest judgment is that if you make this concession now in the interest of peace and harmony the future will demonstrate the wisdom of your action.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN MCBRIDE.

President National Progressive Union Miners and Mine Laborers.

TO THE MINERS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Columbus, Ohio, April 23, 1889.

Fellow Miners:

As stated in previous circulars, the joint conventions held in Indianapolis, Indiana, and Columbus, Ohio, failed to establish mining rates for the coming year, and the adjournment of the last convention ended the joint movement. This was generally regretted by miners and operators, particularly so because it threatened to end the peaceful and harmonious

relations that had existed for three years between mine employers and employes, and with this friendly relationship better prices had prevailed, both for the producing and selling of coal. When the convention adjourned the miners had offered, as their best terms of settlement, the summer rates named in last year's scale, and the operators offered a reduction of 5 cents below the rates of last year.

On April 9 the operators of Ohio and Pittsburg districts made a proposition to the Progressive Union, through me, of a reduction of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per ton below last year's rates. I told them I had no authority to make an agreement, but would submit it direct to you for approval or disapproval. This I did, and also advised its acceptance by you. The operators also stipulated that a committee of four miners and four operators from each district should meet in Pittsburg on April 15 to sign the agreement and provide for the re-establishment of the joint movement, with its methods of arbitration and conciliation; provided, of course, that miners would accept their proposition. On the 15th the miners' delegation from the Pittsburg district voted unanimously against the reduction; and although the Ohio miners' delegation favored accepting it, they told the Pittsburg delegation that they must mutually agree before the operators' proposition would be accepted. As the Pittsburg miners would not accept, the operators of the two districts were informed that their proposition was rejected. This ended the matter so far as the National Progressive Union was concerned, and no interstate agreement has been made or recognized by it.

The officers of National District Assembly No. 135 had issued an invitation to operators of this competitive district to meet them in joint convention in Pittsburg, April 16, to fix rates, etc. They met, and oh, what a meeting it was, my craftsmen! There were two operators from Ohio in attendance—Ed Martin of New Straitsville and Capt. L. R. Doty of Columbus. Nor were the miners represented. Only James O'Donnell and John Nugent, from New Straitsville, and Thomas Bentham of Shawnee attended. They were selected by the Knights of Labor, and yet when the operators told them in plain terms that they would not recognize their organization, only one of them, Nugent, had the manhood to reply that his organization must be recognized or he could take no part in the convention. He was ruled out by the chairman. From the Pittsburg district there were nine delegates, all of whom, except Barker of Mansfield, belonged to the Knights of Labor. Two of these delegates, however, were not miners, J. F. Welsh being a school teacher and Victor Marlier works in a lumber yard. All of these men knew that the miners

of the Pittsburgh district had decided unanimously to accept no reduction, and they also knew that the Progressive Union delegates from both the Ohio and Pittsburgh districts had informed the operators that their proposition had been rejected, and yet regardless of this fact, and the fact that only the day before they had denounced my advice to accept a reduction as outrageous, they agreed to accept the reduction proposed by the operators. The vote by which they agree to the proposition of the operators shows that O'Donnell and Bentham voted with the operators and against the Pittsburgh Knights of Labor delegates. This may have been done by the consent of the Knights of Labor delegates from the Pittsburgh district, who, not being able to vote for the proposition by reason of their instructions, probably took this method to accept the proposed reduction and yet screen themselves behind O'Donnell and Bentham, who had accepted that which the Progressive Union had rejected.

In the *Trades Journal* of April 13 John B. Rae denounces the action of the miners' delegates who attended the joint convention at Columbus for voting to accept the summer rates of the last scale as the price for the coming year. In the same paper, April 20, Robert Watchorn and John B. Rae, in an address to miners, say:

"We were in possession of information that led us to believe that the summer rate of last year could be arranged for the whole year."

So they were willing to accept summer rates, even though they had denounced us for voting for them. But is there any sane man who believes that the operators, after voting to adjourn the Columbus convention and dissolve the joint movement rather than concede summer rates, would agree to enter into a contract with Rae, Watchorn & Co. to pay that rate? Not likely. Further on they say, in explanation of the action of their one-horse convention:

"We went into the convention hoping against hope, still anxious to secure last summer's rate; we were disappointed. Officers of the National Progressive Union held meetings, and had advised, not only a 2½-cent, but a 5-cent reduction if it were necessary to save their organization. Delegates came instructed to accept the 2½-cent reduction, and the Pennsylvania delegates were out-voted."

This statement is false, and Robert Watchorn and John B. Rae knew it to be false when they wrote and signed it. No official of the National Progressive Union advocated a reduction of 5 cents, and the National Progressive Union delegation from Ohio stood by the Pittsburgh miners and declared the operators' proposition rejected. We can not see in what

manner Ohio out-voted Pennsylvania miners. Again they say: "What were we to do? Either to submit to the inevitable or allow the operators, who had been dealing with the National Progressive Union, to secure the best of the lake trade, or withdraw and run the risk of endangering the interests of both operators and miners and wrecking the conciliatory movement. We believed the latter to be unwise, and now recommend (gratuitously, of course) that we submit with as good grace as possible."

Who do they mean when they say they would "secure the best of the lake trade?" The operators of both the Ohio and Pittsburgh districts had been dealing with the National Progressive Union, and they had submitted the 2½-cent reduction to their miners through our organization, and had it been accepted the operators of both districts, being alike interested in the lake trade, would have received the same consideration and the same treatment. Neither would have secured an advantage over the other. But say Rae and Watchorn, "what were we to do?" Inasmuch as they have asked this question and apparently stand in need of advice, as is evidenced by their agreeing to accept my advice relating to scale rates, I will tell them. You should have done as the Ohio delegation done, refused to accept the operators' proposition without the consent of the Pittsburgh miners; you should have been honest in your statements to the miners instead of urging them to stand upon their own resources for a price greater than can be obtained by them. If you were honest in your belief that higher rates could have been secured than those recommended by me you should have evidenced some consistency and stood by the Pennsylvania miners in their efforts to secure them, instead of overriding their will and accepting what you were pleased to term my "gratuitous advice." You should have told the miners that you did not know, or that you had not the courage to tell them of the unfortunate conditions and circumstances surrounding them and the coal trade. You have demonstrated a willingness to follow the miners since you lacked both the ability and courage to advise them as their interests required. This you should have done instead of playing the part of a demagogue. Your consenting to ignore your organization and treat with operators as individuals—or nonunion men—is a disgrace to organized labor. You evidently did this because you were ashamed to admit membership in the "Noble and Holy Order," or because you were afraid to connect the "order" with the odium which must necessarily follow your act of servility.

By reason of the opportunities offered them, miners' officials are supposed to know more concerning the complex con-

ditions of the coal trade and be better informed as to the organized and financial condition of miners in the different districts that compete with each other than are the miners who work day after day in the mines. It is for this reason they are required to advise and direct, and the official who remains silent when his advice is needed simply because he fears criticism is unworthy the confidence and support of honest men. It is always more pleasant to advise for an increase in wages than to advise the acceptance of a reduction, but whether it be for the one or the other officials should advise strictly in accordance with facts, conditions and circumstances. If the advice be not accepted and disaster follows, the miners themselves are to blame. The position I hold imposes duties both advisory and executive, and when I submitted the operators' proposition to you for your approval or disapproval I simply did my duty in advising you to accept it. Had your interests demanded or even required the rejection of that proposition I would have so advised. In my circular of April 9 I advised you to accept the 2½-cent reduction not because more coal would be mined and sold; not because either you or your employers would be directly benefited by the reduction, but because the amount involved was so small that it was not worth risking the destruction of the peaceful and harmonious relations with your employers and the methods of arbitration and conciliation which had worked so successfully and beneficially during the last three years, and through which strikes, with their consequent hardships to miners and their families, had been avoided. I knew when I gave that advice that were miners of the Pittsburgh district inclined to ask more than summer rates—74 cents—that they could not hope to secure it, owing to the fact that the Pennsylvania and Westmoreland Company had contracted with their miners upon the 74-cent basis for the next year; that the B. & O. R. R. mines—several of them—were working at 74 cents since November last instead of getting 79 cents, the district price. Scott's mines and Armstrong's mine, at Mansfield, are working at 74 cents, and DeArmitt has contracted his mining at even lower rates—all this in the Pittsburgh district. I knew, too, that the miners of Indiana would either have to strike or accept a reduction of 20 and 15 cents in the block and bituminous fields. They will need your help to win, and should they lose you will suffer more severely than you would have done by accepting the 2½-cent reduction. I knew, too, that gas and crude oil had unsettled the coal trade, and that in this competitive district alone they were doing the work that would require 11,000,000 tons of coal annually to perform—as much coal as the State of Ohio produces in one year with its 25,000 miners and mine

laborers. This gives an uncertainty to the coal trade, and operators naturally are uneasy. Everything indicates that another year of peace would be worth more to you than the 2½ cents which you were asked to give up.

I also said, when advising you to accept, that the operators' proposition was almost the equivalent of the summer rate of 65 cents in Hocking and 74 cents in Pittsburg fields. The evidence in my possession proves this. There is almost three-fifths of the entire production of the two fields mined during the summer months and the balance during the winter. The miners averaged less than 500 tons each last year. Upon that basis each miner produced 300 tons in the summer. This, at a reduction of 2½ cents, means a loss of \$7.50.

During the winter each miner produced 200 tons; at an advance of 2½ cents over summer rates gives a gain of \$5. The difference in the year's work gives a loss to each miner of \$2.50, or one-half cent per ton upon the 500 tons mined.

I again say this amount is too small to stand in the way of a peaceful settlement, and that it would have been better had you allowed your desires to bend to this moderate demand than to risk having your will broken and your prices further reduced by a conflict with your employers and which were entered into is foreshadowed by defeat and disaster.

May 1 ends the present scale, and unless each district now takes such action as is needed to enable their miners to understand each other and work together, our failure to secure an agreed price for the coming year will divide our forces, and division of itself means loss. The district presidents should either have their executive boards map out a course to pursue or call district conventions to decide.

No dependence can be put in the pledges and promises of the officers and members of National District Assembly No. 135. We were loath to believe that any of them had offered to work at prices lower than the National Progressive Union would agree to—as they were charged with having done by Mr. Perry and other operators of Indiana—but since other developments have been made in the same line, I am inclined to believe them guilty as charged. For some time the operators of the Hocking valley have complained that the hours of labor were too few and the rate per day to day laborers was too high, while the half holiday on Saturday, it was asserted, worked an injury to them. They also claimed that John H. Taylor, Chris Evans and the officers of the National Progressive Union had discriminated against them, etc. H. D. Turney of the Columbus and Hocking Coal and Iron Company told me and all the members of the executive board of District No. 10 (Ohio), in the presence of operators J. L. Morton, H. L.

Chapman and O. Townsend, that officers of National District Assembly No. 135 had promised their company that if they would treat with the Knights, instead of the National Progressive Union, that they would guarantee, by July 15, 1889, to either have all parts of the district working at the same rate per day and the same number of hours, the half holidays included, or they would agree to increase the hours of labor and reduce the wages of the day laborers in the Hocking valley. I know Mr. Turney to be a responsible man, and as he stipulated nothing concerning the keeping of this quiet, I give it to the miners and candidly say I believe it is true.

What do Hocking valley and other miners think of these sham reformers, Rae, Watchorn, O'Donnell, Nugent & Co., and their rule or ruin policy?

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN MCBRIDE,

President National Progressive Union.

TO THE MINERS OF OHIO.

New Straitsville, Ohio, April 27, 1889.

Fellow Miners—The present condition of mining affairs justifies a statement from me on the situation you are placed in, owing to preconcerted plans made between the officials of National Trade Assembly No. 135 and a few operators from the Hocking district.

After our arrival in Pittsburg, on Monday, April 15, the day proposed by the Ohio operators to meet the officials of the National Progressive Union, H. D. Turney of the Columbus and Hocking Coal and Iron Company said to John H. Taylor that Chris Evans and John H. Taylor had discriminated against them on the question of day wages, the shortening of hours per day, and the enforcement of the half holiday on Saturday; and on further investigation we were informed by operators that were present when the promises were made by the officials of National Trade Assembly No. 135, to the operators of the Hocking district, that they would correct these grievances by July 15, or the wages of day labor should be reduced and the hours increased in said Hocking district. With this information at hand it was easy to understand why a portion of the Hocking valley operators had met at Columbus, Ohio, and selected E. S. Martin and Capt. L. R. Doty to meet the officials of National Trade Assembly No. 135 to adjust a scale of prices for the companies above named.

This action on their part could not be considered very acceptable to the Ohio operators' representatives that were elected at their State convention to represent the entire State,

even though Messrs. Martin and Doty did vote against meeting with the National Progressive Union and in favor of meeting with National Trade Assembly No. 135. It is fair to assume that through this treatment all the duly elected representatives of the Ohio operators refused to act with them in the formation of a scale of prices at Pittsburg.

While we felt justified from the action taken by the miners of Ohio to accept the proposition offered by the Ohio operators as a State, we were not willing to act jointly and enforce the Pennsylvania miners to accept the terms proposed, contrary to the position taken by them. How different with the officials of National Trade Assembly No. 135. They not only acted with these operators jointly, and put on the garb of nonunion miners, but two of their number voted with the operators, thereby forcing the Pennsylvania miners to accept the terms (by their own votes), and under the plea that the Pennsylvania miners were outvoted, ask the constituents they so viciously wronged, "What were we to do?"

In the Rae-Watchorn manifesto they tell the miners that "the equalization of day labor between the different regions is important." This, I confess, is an important question at this time, especially so in the Hocking valley region, where the proposed equalization scheme takes its initiatory step. How far they will succeed in establishing this new reformation will be decided when the Hocking day laborers are called upon to put it into practice.

It is not very pleasant for miners' officials to advocate the acceptance of a reduced rate of wages, but the circumstances under which we are surrounded at present demands advice that is consistent and in keeping with honest convictions, that will bear the closest scrutiny of our enemies and serve the best interest of the mining craft. This we feel called upon to do, and as the present scale prices end May 1, 1889, and the fact that the interstate movement is ended, the members of your State executive board have concluded that it would be the better part of wisdom to try and prevent a conflict between the miners and operators of Ohio. In accordance with the spirit manifested by both parties since we failed to agree jointly with other States, and in accord with the suggestion made in President McBride's circular, "that the district presidents should either have their executive boards map out a course to pursue or call district conventions to decide," the members of the executive board of District No. 10 have made the following agreement with the representatives of the Ohio operators that were elected at their State convention, in the city of Columbus, Ohio, April 9, 1889:

"Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, April 16, 1889.

"We, the undersigned officers and miners of the National Progressive Union, hereby guarantee to the operators' representatives of the State of Ohio, an agreement for the price of mining for the year of May 1, 1889, to May 1, 1890, and its successful fulfillment on the basis of 62½ cents from May 1 to November 1, and 67½ cents from November 1 to May 1, for the Hocking district.

"CHRIS EVANS,

"President District No. 10, N. P. U.

"JOHN H. TAYLOR,

"WILLIAM H. BASSETT,

"JOHN A. PEDDICORD,

"VICTOR E. SULLIVAN,

"Executive Committee.

"JOHN MCBRIDE,

"President National Progressive Union.

"Accepted on behalf of operators' committee—H. L. Chapman, J. S. Morton, Oscar Townsend—by J. S. MORTON."

This, we believe, is the best course to pursue under existing circumstances. It will avert the danger of a serious conflict between us, establish peace and harmony during the coming year, and show to the public in general that when the storm is raging most that reason and intelligence enables us to grasp the situation and contribute our share towards the maintenance of friendly relations between the employer and the employed.

It will be seen by the agreement that the members of our organization are not required to ignore their union principles, but, on the contrary, we are able to command recognition as an organization in the adjustment of scale prices, and that in the future, as in the past, we shall conduct the business affairs of the miners in accordance with trades-union principles and check all future schemes that may be introduced.

Very truly yours,

CHRIS EVANS,

President District No. 10, N. P. U.

In the month of May, 1889, the officers of the Pittsburg district, Pennsylvania, known as District No. 4 of the National Progressive Union of Miners and Laborers, issued the following:

Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, May 14, 1889.

At a convention of miners in this city this day the resolution presented to offer to the operators the price of 73 cents as the price to govern the mining of coal in the Pittsburg dis-

trict from May 1, 1889, to April 30, 1890, was unanimously adopted, and Messrs. John D. Conway, W. T. Lewis, Michael McQuade and James Cole were authorized and empowered to sign an agreement with the operators binding the miners to be so governed during that time, and in conformity therewith, and for that purpose, we, John D. Conway, W. T. Lewis, Michael McQuade and James Cole sign this paper as a full obligation on the part of the miners to that effect.

JOHN D. CONWAY.

W. T. LEWIS.

MICHAEL MCQUADE.

JAMES COLE.

This proposition has been considered by the operators, and we, the committee appointed for the purpose of accepting the same on the part of the operators and binding the same to the payment of said price for the term specified, do sign the paper.

A. DEMPSTER.

F. L. ROBBINS.

GEORGE W. SCHLEUDERBERG.

The conflict of authority cited in the circular issued by President McBride continued for many months after the joint formation of the National Progressive Union, owing to the opposition of the contending force that still remained members of National District Assembly No. 135 of the Knights of Labor, hence the refusal of coal operators to grant fair prices for mining or meet jointly as a competitive field to adjust mining affairs as heretofore. Under the situation now confronting them, the executive board of District No. 10 of the National Progressive Union entered into the joint agreement with Ohio operators as published in the circular issued to the miners of Ohio, April 27, 1889:

JOINT AGREEMENT WITH SUNDAY CREEK COAL COMPANY ON
PRICES FOR ENTRY DRIVING AND DAY WAGES.

Columbus, Ohio, 1889.

	62½-Cent Mining.	70-Cent Mining.
Entry driving, per yard-----	\$1.56¼	\$1.75
Drivers, per day -----	1.81¼	2.00
Trackmen, per day -----	2.05	2.25
Bone coal men, per day -----	1.81¼	2.00
Engineers, per day -----	2.05	2.25
Trappers, per day -----	.62½	.70
Head trimmer or dock boss, per day--	2.00	2.25
Head dumper, per day -----	1.65	1.80
Blacksmith, per day-----	2.05	2.25

The above prices to take effect from May 1 to November 1, 1889, for labor specified, and from November 1 to May 1, 1890, a proportionate advance to the price of mining then in force.

Signed by officers of National Progressive Union.

CHRIS EVANS,
President District No. 10.

GEORGE SCOTT,
President Sub-District No. 8.

JAMES NELSON,
President Sub-District No. 9.

The Sunday Creek Coal Company,

By J. S. MORTON,
President.

The wages paid per day by the Columbus and Hocking Valley Coal and Iron Company in the month of May, 1889, with mining prices at 62½ cents per ton, follow:

Drivers, \$1.81¼; trackmen, \$2.04; trimmers, \$1.81¼; dumper, \$1.70; blacksmith, \$2.27; trappers, 52½ cents. This company is known as the Hocking Valley Syndicate, with all its mines in the Hocking valley district of Ohio.

In May, 1889, President Chris Evans of District No. 10 of the National Progressive Union, when commenting on the Sunday Creek Coal Company agreement and the position taken by some of the Hocking valley Ohio operators owing to the proposition made to them by officials of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, to reduce the wages of day laborers, said:

A joint understanding has been arrived at on the question of day wages between the officials of the National Progressive Union and the president of the Sunday Creek Coal Company. The reduced rates on day wages will be the same, proportionately, as those agreed upon for mining during the first half year from May 1 to November 1, and the advanced rates will take effect from November 1 to May 1, 1890. With this understanding on the part of the above named company, it is hardly probable that the Hocking district day laborers will accept any additional reduction after the 15th day of July next, even though a portion of the Hocking operators are laboring under that delusive proposition.

There seems to be an inclination on the part of some of the Hocking valley operators to cross swords with the National Progressive Union. We have no desire to deceive any of the operators referred to, but, on the contrary, would advise them to look over the ground carefully and not leap in the dark. If they do it may result in great injury to the interest involved and from a business point of view lead them in the same channel they traveled through a few years ago. Their position at that time is too well known by themselves to need any explanation from us, and we hope the lessons taught at that time will have sufficient influence over their future actions as will prevent a like result during the coming year.

The following brief note on organization was published in the *National Labor Tribune*, dated Mystic, Iowa, May 20, 1889:

There is no kind of labor organization here, and it is sadly needed. In driving entry you cut both ribs and mine it, then wedge it. It will make about forty-five bushels to the yard, eight feet wide, and you load a car of dirt for every car of coal. In turning rooms you turn eight feet and cut eight feet before you widen, and you get nothing for the turning.

OBSERVER.

PRICES PAID IN OHIO FOR COAL MINING.

Per Day, Per Yard and Per Ton, at Places Named, in the Month of May, 1889.

	Mahoning County.	Medina County.	Tuscarawas County.	Belmont County.	Jackson County.	Stark County.	Vinton County.	Columbiana County.
Cagers -----	----	----	----	----	\$1.35	\$1.65	\$1.65	----
Tracklayers -----	----	\$1.87	\$1.90 1.65	----	1.35 1.60	1.65	1.37½	\$1.65
Drivers -----	\$1.67	1.87	1.70 1.65	\$1.50	1.35	1.82	1.50	1.65 1.82
Dumpers -----	----	----	1.40 1.50	----	1.28 1.35	1.50	1.15	----
Trimmers -----	----	----	1.40 1.50	1.25	1.28 1.35	1.65	1.37	----
Trappers -----	----	.50	.65	----	.50	.60	.50	----
Entrys, per yard-----	1.56 2.06	1.55 2.12½	1.25	----	1.12½	2.06	1.62½	1.15 1.95
Price, per ton-----	.85	.67½	.62½	.62½	.62½	.77½	.67½	.65 .77½

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THAT PITTSBURG CONFERENCE.

REPORT OF OPERATORS' COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENT WITH
KNIGHTS OF LABOR MINERS.

Chris Evans, president of the Ohio district of the National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers, yesterday issued a circular containing the following report of the operators' committee of their deliberations with the miners at Pittsburg:

General Office District No. 10, National Progressive Union.

New Straitsville, Ohio, May 28, 1889.

To All Miners and Mine Laborers in and Around the Mines,
and All Others Interested:

The question of adjusting a scale of prices on mining for the ensuing year has created an unusual amount of discussion during the past few months, and the public statements that have been made by John McBride, Chris Evans and John H. Taylor that the officials of National District Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, had made an agreement with certain operators of the Hocking district on day wages and hours of labor, conditions on which the scale of prices agreed upon between them should be paid, have been denied by National District Assembly No. 135 officials and L. R. Doty and E. S. Martin, operators' committee, as shown by the following card:

Office of National Secretary-Treasurer Miners and Mine Laborers' National District Assembly No. 135, Knights
of Labor of America.

Columbus, Ohio, May 7, 1889.

The following card is self-explanatory, and we issue it in order that you may not be misled by the false representation of our enemies.

ROBERT WATCHORN, N. S. T. of N. D. A. No. 135.

JOHN NUGENT, M. W. of Division No. 6.

Columbus, Ohio, May 6, 1889.

To correct any false impressions that may exist, we wish to state that we have no arrangements with any Knights of Labor officials looking to the reduction of prices of day labor or increasing the hours of labor in the Hocking valley region.

*operators plan
two factions
one in the
mine*

A simple statement of facts is this: The Knights of Labor officials, in answer to our complaints as to existing inequalities between the Hocking region and competing districts in these matters, agreed to carefully investigate and to correct these inequalities if such investigation showed our charges sustained. The intention is to bring competing districts up to the level of Hocking, as this is manifestly the most practicable manner to arrange the matter if these inequalities exist as we have attempted to demonstrate.

And we will further say we are satisfied so far with the progress made by them in their efforts to bring up competing districts to the level of Hocking valley region.

L. R. DOTY,
E. S. MARTIN,
Committee.

In order to justify the statements we have made, and prove our position on the question referred to, we take the liberty of publishing the report of the operators' committee, L. R. Doty and E. S. Martin, as received from the secretary-treasurer of the Ohio Coal Exchange, and ask all miners and day laborers to read it carefully and form your own conclusions as to the manner in which the operators' committee has criminated themselves in trying to shield the actions of National District Assembly No. 135, and whether we were not justified in giving this information to the miners and day laborers that are so deeply interested.

Very truly yours,
CHRIS EVANS, President.

Columbus, Ohio, April 17, 1889.

Messrs. Chapman & Houston, Maple Hill Coal Company, Wallace & Brooks, Martin & Roan, Stokes Hill Coal Company, Ohio Coal Exchange, Columbus and Hocking Coal and Iron Company, Chicago and Ohio Coal and Car Company, Hall & Ginitty, Consolidated Coal Company, and Juniper Bros. & Lampman:

Gentlemen—The committee appointed by you to represent you at the proposed meeting with the Knights of Labor, at Pittsburg, April 15, 1889, would report as follows:

After holding several conferences with the officials of that organization, and after placing our position before them to the best of our ability, and hearing their comments thereon and statements as to what they would do in the matter, we arranged with them for a scale of prices for the year commencing May 1, 1889, of 62½ cents for six months and 67½ cents for six months for the Hocking valley; together with

the special guarantee from them that they will bring the price of entry driving, hauling and all day labor in competing districts of Ohio up to the standard of the prices we pay for the same labor, and also the number of hours worked as a day's work to be equalized between us and these places, and if this is not done by them by July 15, 1889, they will bring our prices for this labor and hours considered a day's work down to the level of these competing places. We, on our part, agreeing to stop the checking off done in our offices of all dues for labor organizations and check off nothing except the checkweighman's exact pay. We agree to this freely to answer their argument that we should not hamper their ability to carry out our arrangement by continuing in this manner to furnish means to a rival and unfriendly labor organization. We urge upon you all the faithful carrying out of this agreement, on our part, commencing promptly May 1.

Your committee assumed to act for you in the interstate convention, held in Pittsburg, April 16, 1889, after the withdrawal from that convention of the committee appointed by the Ohio coal operators, who stated their instructions would not permit them to treat with a convention whose representatives of miners were not Progressive Union men—and in this convention this arrangement was carried out notwithstanding the united opposition of the Pennsylvania miners' delegates, who were strongly instructed for a uniform price of 74 cents for Pennsylvania and 65 cents for the Hocking valley for the year. There may be some trouble over this in Pennsylvania, but the operators were assured of all necessary and possible action by the delegates to carry out the conclusions reached by the convention.

This convention, it may be well to add, was evidently composed mainly, if not entirely, of delegates who were Knights of Labor, although it was organized and treated entirely throughout as a meeting between operators' and miners' representatives, without regard to the labor affiliations of the latter. The representatives of the National Progressive Union from Pennsylvania and Ohio refused to meet with this convention, and took the position, as we understood it, that if a scale was arranged with any other than themselves, they would have nothing whatever to do with it. Again urging upon you the necessity of promptly acting May 1, stopping the system of "checking off" for any labor organization, we are,

Yours, etc.,

L. R. DOTY,

E. S. MARTIN,

Committee.

The *Ohio State Journal*, on May 29, 1889, commented on the agreement as follows:

With reference to the above several operators state that the report made by Messrs. Doty and Martin is carelessly worded and apt to mislead on that account. They say the spirit of the agreement, and in fact the agreement itself, was that all classes of day labor, and also the hours constituting a day's work, should be equalized in all competing districts.

The gentlemen representing the Knights of Labor at the conference were so strongly of the opinion that this could be done that it was stated that in the event other districts should not be advanced, then the Hocking valley would be reduced.

Since the signing of the agreement the officers of National District Assembly No. 135 here worked to accomplish this end, and it is believed by them that before July 15 Hocking valley operators and miners will in all competing districts be on an equal basis. It is claimed that Messrs. Doty and Martin, in making their report, failed to state explicitly what the agreement was and so worded the report as to make it misleading.

HELP THE STRIKING MINERS.

National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers.
General Office, Room 43, Wesley Block, Columbus, Ohio.

Columbus, Ohio, June 10, 1889.

Miners—Nine thousand of your fellow craftsmen in northern Illinois and in the block coal field in Indiana are out on strike since May 1 against a reduction in wages, and now appeal to you for financial aid.

The coals of northern Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and western Pennsylvania meet in competition in the lake and Northwestern markets. To allow each State a share of the markets, a fair relative rate of mining should exist. It was our belief that the rates prevailing in this competitive district for the last two years gave to each State a proper relative rate, or as nearly so as it was possible to fix upon, and do justice to all interests. The coal statistics of Chicago for 1888 show that since 1886 "Illinois has increased her tonnage 27 per cent, Indiana 57¼ per cent, Ohio 25½ per cent, and Pennsylvania has sustained a slight loss." From this showing it is evident that both Indiana and Illinois had an advantage over Ohio and Pennsylvania. Ohio and Pennsylvania have settled prices for the next year upon a basis of 2½ cents below last year's rate, and miners of both Indiana and Illinois would have accepted like terms, but their operators have insisted upon a

reduction of 15 cents in Indiana, while the demands of Illinois operators, with conditions named, run from 10, 15 and 20 cents. This their miners refuse to accept, and their appeal for financial help should be promptly and generously responded to by the miners and mine laborers of Ohio and western Pennsylvania, for to them it is evident, or should be, that to increase the advantages in the market of Illinois and Indiana means either less work or lower wages to miners and mine laborers of both Pennsylvania and Ohio.

While the striking miners do not all belong to our Union, they are fighting for our interests as well as their own; hence no true miner or member of our union will hesitate or allow difference in opinion as to methods of organization prevent him from relieving the distress of the families of those who are contending for justice and right.

Let miners that are working at once collect money, or provide for its collection at the first pay day, and at each succeeding pay, until the strike ends, and forward one-third of the amount collected to T. F. Bolser, Clinton, Vermillion county, Indiana, and two-thirds to William Scaife, Coal City, Grundy county, Illinois. This division is made because there are 2,000 on strike in Indiana and nearly 7,000 in Illinois.

Fraternally yours,

JOHN MCBRIDE,
President National Progressive Union.

THE HOCKING VALLEY RAILROAD ENCOURAGES THE CONTINUATION OF THE TOO MUCH ORGANIZATION TURMOIL.

June 29, 1889.

The miners and mine laborers of the National Progressive Union in the Hocking district have been discussing the propriety of holding a general mass meeting of Sub-District No. 1, at Nelsonville, Ohio, for the purpose of ascertaining what rates could be got from the Columbus, Hocking Valley and Toledo railroad from Straitsville and intermediate points. We called at the general office of the company at Columbus, Ohio, on the 19th inst., and were informed that one-half regular rates could be given by taking the regular morning train from Straitsville at 11 o'clock and a special train to return home in the evening. We felt somewhat disappointed, and stated to the management that less rates had been given to the miners about two months ago when the miners of National District Assembly No. 135 held a meeting at the same place, and we expected to get the same rates. We were again told that the management of the road had recently decided not to give any excursion rates less than half-fare. We then decided to con-

sider the matter and report to the company what we would do. Our report to the company is that we will have to abandon the use of the railroad at present for that purpose unless we can get the same fares as were given to the parties above referred to. Should we be able to get 35-cent rates, the same as was charged No. 135 for their last trip, then the excursion will come off, and the railroad company, the syndicate and all others interested will have the privilege of seeing for themselves what the National Progressive Union consists of, and what changes they can expect after July 15, 1889, on the day-wage question. If we are unable to get the rates above referred to we can hold a mass meeting at Nelsonville, July 11, of all the members that can reach there without the aid of the train, and hold another mass meeting in the upper end of the district between the miners of Shawnee and New Straitsville.

This will explain our position at present on this subject, and further information will be given as soon as any changes are decided upon.

CHRIS EVANS.

The mass meeting referred to was held at Nelsonville, Ohio, July 13, 1889. At the request of William Job, superintendent at the Ellsworth and Morris mines at Brush Fork, in the Hocking valley district, who desired to impart some information on day wages. District President Evans and Sub-District President J. H. Taylor went to these mines and upon investigation found that if the day wages of the latter coal company had to be equalized the Hocking Valley Syndicate would have to advance, in several instances, the day wages being paid at their mines.

DISTRICT NO. 10, NATIONAL PROGRESSIVE UNION OF MINERS
AND MINE LABORERS.

General Office.

New Straitsville, Ohio, July 2, 1889.

To the Miners and Mine Laborers of Sub-Districts Nos. 1, 8 and 9 of District No. 10, National Progressive Union:

At a special meeting of Sub-District No. 1, June 1, the question of entry prices was discussed and a feeling expressed that entrymen were not being paid prices they were entitled to. It was resolved that President Evans try and get a meeting with the operators to adjust the difference. I called a meeting June 11 to consider the matter, but owing to the absence of Hocking operators the meeting adjourned without

taking any definite action. As I was not present when the agreements on entry prices were made, and believing that some action should be taken to bring the question to an issue, I addressed a letter to President McBride, as follows:

“New Straitsville, Ohio, June 27, 1889.

“John McBride, President National Progressive Union:

“Dear Sir—A feeling of dissatisfaction exists among the miners of Sub-Districts Nos. 1, 8 and 9 of District No. 10 on the prices paid for entry driving since May 1, 1889. I called a joint meeting of miners and operators’ representatives, June 11, to consider the question, and only two operators were present. After some discussion on the matter the fact was developed that a portion of the operators (who were present at the time yourself and others made the agreement) refused to take any further action on the question, but are paying prices in accordance with their own construction of the agreements. Owing to the absence of these operators the meeting adjourned to meet again at a future date. As I was not present at the time you made the agreement, I ask you to give me your interpretation of the last agreement you made with them, and in the event of a refusal on their part to meet us and act upon the question, the wishes of the miners will be consulted and such action taken as they deem best to enforce such prices as the agreement warrants.

“Very truly yours,

“CHRIS EVANS,

“President District No. 10.”

The following letter was received in reply, and I ask the miners to consider it carefully, as you will be called upon to decide for yourselves what course you will pursue to carry out the agreements jointly entered into:

“Columbus, Ohio, June 29, 1889.

“Mr. C. Evans, President District No. 10:

“Dear Sir—Yours of the 27th inst. received. In reply, allow me to say that my interpretation of the contract relating to prices for entry driving in Sub-Districts Nos. 1, 8 and 9 in Ohio is that, at a 62½-cent mining rate, the price per yard for single shift dry entry should be \$1.62½.

“Every member of the committee whose names are signed to that contract knows, as do all operators of the Hocking and Ohio central districts, that the agreement admits of no interpretation other than the one given by me.

“Prior to the strike of 1884 the price of entry driving was not regulated by mining rates, but remained stationary at \$2 per yard. At the end of the strike, mining had reached the

40 and 50-cent level, and operators, having things their own way, fixed entry rates at \$1.50 per yard. In November, 1887, mining rates advanced to 70 cents, and the following month the convention of Hocking valley miners demanded the re-establishment of the \$2 entry rate. A joint committee of miners and operators met in Columbus, and after thoroughly canvassing the matter, adopted the following:

“ ‘Joint agreements between miners and operators of Hocking valley at Columbus, Ohio, January 5 and 23, 1888:

“ ‘1. When mining rates are fixed at seventy (70) cents per ton, the prices for driving single shift entries shall be one dollar and seventy-five cents (\$1.75) per yard; and for every advance or decline of ten (10) cents per ton in mining rates an advance or decline of twenty-five (25) cents per yard shall be made in entry price.

“ ‘2. Double shift and wet entries shall be paid for at such additional rates per yard as may be agreed upon by the mine boss and the entry men.

“ ‘The agreement, so far as it relates to entries, shall take effect from December 15, 1887.

“ ‘Signed on behalf of miners by

“ ‘JOHN MCBRIDE.

“ ‘JOHN H. TAYLOR.

“ ‘Signed on behalf of operators by

“ ‘Z. WILLIAMS.

“ ‘EDMUND A. COLE.’

“This contract was made when 70 cents was being paid for mining and we understood that we could secure no further advance in entry price until mining advanced to 80 cents; and we also understood there should be no reduction in entry price until mining fell to 60 cents. Neither operators nor miners upon the committee knew what mining rates would be upon the expiration of the scale agreement for 1887, and from this you will understand that we acted in good faith. Upon May 1, 1888, mining rates went down to 65 cents, and some of the operators of Hocking valley paid their entry men, for work done in May, \$1.62½ per yard. We insisted upon them paying \$1.75, and the committee was again convened and admitted the correctness of our position by paying \$1.75. The operators upon the committee, however, desired to have the changes in entry price to be made every time mining changed 5 cents per ton. We agreed to this in the following, which is now or should be in force:

“ ‘Amended resolutions jointly agreed upon at Columbus, Ohio, June 19 and 20, 1888:

“ ‘Resolved, That the interpretation of the contract shall be that the price of single shift dry entries shall be \$1.75 per yard from May 1, 1888, to May 1, 1889, and that thereafter the basis shall be \$1.75 per yard on the rate of 70 cents mining, and a rise or decline of $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents per yard on every rise or decline of 5 cents in the price of mining.

“ ‘Committee for miners—

“ ‘JOHN MCBRIDE.

“ ‘JOHN H. TAYLOR.

“ ‘N. R. HYSELL.

“ ‘JAMES NELSON.

“ ‘Committee for operators—

“ ‘W. S. COURTRIGHT.

“ ‘Z. WILLIAMS.

“ ‘THOMAS CORCORAN.

“ ‘E. A. COLE.

“ ‘H. C. STANWOOD.

“ ‘Resolved, That the price for all dry break-throughs between rooms shall be 50 cents per yard less than regular dry entry price.

“ ‘Resolved, That the resolutions adopted by this committee at this meeting apply to Districts Nos. 1, 8 and 9.’

“ ‘This, like the first agreement, admits of no half-way course; mining must fall or rise 5 cents before there can be either an advance or decline in entry price.

“ ‘When contracts and agreements have been made in the past the miners have invariably and honestly fulfilled their part, while on the other hand the operators have sought, in most cases to escape responsibility by interposing some technical objection. This is not right, and if operators are determined to violate the agreement upon entry rates the sooner the miners know it the sooner can we resort to other methods to preserve and increase those privileges which belong to our craftsmen. I want to do no injustice to any mine operator, neither do I court difficulty or trouble with any of them, but the miners’ interests are ours, and if we can not protect these interests by and through amicably arranged joint agreements and contracts it is high time the miners themselves understood the situation and be given an opportunity to direct us in movements such as they desire taken.

“ ‘Yours respectfully,

“ ‘JOHN MCBRIDE,

“ ‘President N. P. U. M. and M. L.”

Note—We have printed this circular to explain the question of entry price in all its bearings. The situation is now before you; there is no cause for any one to be misled by misrepresentations. Call meetings in your respective locals and take such action as you deem best, and send your instructions to Chris Evans, New Straitsville, Ohio, and your wishes will be carried out.

Very truly yours,

CHRIS EVANS,

President District No. 10, N. P. U.

RESIGNATION OF WILLIAM T. LEWIS.

Columbus, Ohio, July 15, 1889.

John McBride, President National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers:

Dear Sir—I herewith tender you my resignation as secretary of the National Progressive Union. This step I am compelled to take because of the continued quarreling that is going on in the miners' ranks.

In closing a long letter on the subject he said:

In retiring from my position I desire to thank yourself and my associates for the many kindnesses extended to me, and allow me to assure you that anything I can do to forward the work of organization will be cheerfully done.

Yours, etc.,

W. T. LEWIS.

On July 20, 1889, President McBride published the following in the official organ, the *National Labor Tribune*:

W. T. Lewis, our national secretary, will soon start for Europe as the miners' delegate selected by the Scripps League. That he will do credit to his craftsmen goes without saying. We wish him a safe voyage. His resignation has been tendered as secretary and accepted by President McBride, who for the present will make no appointment, but directs that all correspondence sent to the national office be addressed to the financial secretary-treasurer, P. McBryde.

The latter, together with John McBride, P. H. Penna, N. R. Hysell and Chris Evans, used all the influence they possessed with the Scripps League to secure the appointment of the miners' delegate as one of the members of their European commission, consisting of representative men in the various lines of trade, clothed with authority to investigate and re-

port, so that by a comparison of notes the United States could learn how it stood on the lines of industry with other nations visited, namely, France, England, Scotland and Germany.

The Scripps League was an enterprising newspaper syndicate, located at Cincinnati, Ohio, with publications in other parts of the State, including the *Cincinnati Post* and *Cleveland Press*.

The following constitution was adopted by District No. 4 of the National Progressive Union for the year 1889:

CONSTITUTION.

Article I—Name.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as District No. 4 of the National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers.

Article II—Membership and Jurisdiction.

Section 1. All persons working in and around the mines that comply with the constitution and laws of the local, district and national unions shall be entitled to membership.

Sec. 2. The district union shall have jurisdiction over all local unions within the limits prescribed by the national constitution, except upon questions of an interstate character.

Article III—Officers and Their Duties.

Section 1. The officers of the district shall be one president, one vice-president, one secretary-treasurer and an executive board of seven members. The president and secretary shall, by virtue of their office, be president and secretary of the executive board.

Sec. 2. The president shall preside at all district conventions, appoint all committees for the work of the convention, sign all official documents, and have the casting vote on all questions that result in a tie, except in the election of officers, but shall not vote on any other question unless he is a duly accredited delegate. Should any vacancies occur in the district officers, the president shall be allowed to fill them by appointment, with the consent of a majority of the members of the executive board, and when deemed necessary shall appoint organizers or members of the executive board to transact business for the organization in accordance with its best interests. He shall be empowered to suspend and remove any district officer for insubordination or just cause, with the

consent of the executive board, and devote his time and attention to advance the interest of the district in such a manner as in his best judgment will promote and better the condition of the members as a whole.

Sec. 3. The vice-president shall act as organizer and, under the direction of the president, shall work for the best interest of the district and its members. In case of death, resignation or removal of the president, the vice-president shall assume and perform all the duties required of the president.

Sec. 4. The secretary-treasurer shall record the proceedings of all conventions; have charge of all books, papers or other property of the district; receive all moneys due the district from the local branches, give a receipt therefor, and pay all orders on the treasurer after being endorsed by the president. He shall keep an accurate account of moneys from all sources, and give bond of \$1,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and such additional security as may be demanded from time to time by the executive board.

Sec. 5. The executive board, in the absence of district conventions, shall have power to direct the affairs of the district union in all matters requiring their attention for its best interest, and shall constitute the district board for the adjustment of all disputes between mine employes and operators on all questions that affect two or more sub-districts, but grievances of a local nature shall be adjusted, if possible, by the officials of the local or sub-district unions affected before they can be considered by the district president or the district executive board. The secretary of the executive board shall record all business transactions of the board; and in case of trouble between the president and executive board the secretary shall have power to call meetings of the board, or conventions if necessary. Members of the executive board shall attend all annual district conventions as delegates-at-large, and together with three members appointed at each annual convention shall act as the auditing committee for the district union.

Sec. 6. In case of trouble in any local or sub-district with the employers it shall be the duty of its officials to try and effect a settlement, either by conciliation or arbitration. Failing in this, however, the grievance shall be presented to the district president, in writing or otherwise, who shall cause the same to be investigated, and settle the difficulty, if possible. Should he fail he shall consult the district executive board, either through correspondence or by a meeting of the board, and dispose of the question either by suspending work or by any other method they deem best.

Article IV—Sub-Districts and Local Unions.

Section 1. To facilitate the work of the district, sub-districts may be formed, subject, however, to such changes as the members of the sub-district and the president of the district may deem proper to make.

Sec. 2. The miners and mine laborers of one or a large number of mines may organize a local union in any sub-district, and any number of local unions in said sub-districts may meet jointly as often as is deemed necessary for the better protection of their collective interest. Such meetings, however, must be in conformity with the laws of the district and sub-district of which the local unions are a part.

Article V—Election of Officers and Salaries.

Section 1. The officers of the district shall be elected by ballot at each annual convention for the term of one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified.

Sec. 2. In addition to all necessary expenses, the president shall receive \$65 per month; vice-president and members of the executive board, when employed, \$2.50 per day and expenses; the secretary-treasurer shall receive \$25 per month and all necessary expenses. The executive board will have the power to increase the salaries of the district officers whenever deemed necessary.

Article VI—Revenue.

Section 1. The initiation fee shall be \$1, to be kept in the local treasury for local expenses.

Sec. 2. Each local union shall pay to the district secretary-treasurer a per capita tax of 9 cents per month on each member, and fractional members in proportion, in good standing at the end of each month, and forward the same on or before the twentieth day of the following month, under penalty of suspension, unless excused for good and sufficient cause.

Article VII—Annual Conventions and Representation.

Section 1. The annual convention shall be held in January of each year, at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. Special conventions may be called by the president at the request of a majority of the members of the district executive board.

Sec. 2. Representatives to district conventions shall be elected by the local unions, and shall have one vote for every one hundred members or the majority fraction thereof in good standing, and pay their own delegate expenses.

Article VIII—Cards.

Section 1. The national union will issue membership cards, and the local unions shall supply each member with one, to show his standing in the union and entitle him to visit other local unions. The card shall be signed by the president and secretary of the local union issuing it, and no person shall hold any office or be allowed to participate in the business of any meeting unless he can present a legal card showing he is a member in good standing in the district and local union.

Sec. 2. Nominations for district officers shall be forwarded to the district secretary not later than the fifteenth day of December preceding the annual convention.

Sec. 3. Amendments to this constitution can only be made at annual conventions by a two-thirds vote of all the representatives present.

On July 3, 1889, Hon. Joseph W. Fifer, governor of Illinois, appointed J. M. Gould and Fred H. Wines as a commission to investigate the causes that had led to the suspension of mining in northern Illinois.

The report says they began their investigation on July 12 and completed their labors on August 17, 1889.

The report, in pamphlet form, covers twenty-eight pages of matter, a portion of which is here quoted because of its relation to the joint troubles of that year between the coal operators of Illinois and Indiana and the miners of those two States after their inability to agree on a scale of prices for the years 1889 and 1890, as did the operators and miners of Ohio and Pennsylvania later on. A portion of the commission's report follows:

Hon. Joseph W. Fifer, Governor of Illinois:

We have the honor to submit the following report, in which we have endeavored to confine ourselves as closely as possible to the statement of facts. If we have fallen into any error it is not intentional. The subject is one with which we had no previous familiarity, and the time allowed us has been too short to enable us to elaborate our views as fully as we could have wished.

The magnitude of the questions involved is perhaps imperfectly appreciated by the public. The number of idle shafts is thirty-five, of which fifteen are in LaSalle county, four in Livingston, three in Bureau, ten in Grundy, two in Will and one in Kankakee. According to the report of the State Bureau of Labor Statistics for the year ending June 30, 1888,

these shafts gave employment during the winter (when they were fully occupied in taking out coal) to about 7,500 pick miners and 2,000 other employes. The immediate occasion for it was the decision of the mine owners (who are organized in a coal association, with headquarters in Chicago, and they act, as far as possible, as a unit) to reduce the price paid for pick mining from and after the first of May, 1889, by 10 cents a ton.

The price previously paid varied at different shafts, according to their location. In the vicinity of Braidwood and Coal City it was 95 cents, at LaSalle and Spring Valley it was 90 cents, and at Streator it was 80 cents. The reduction proposed by the operators would bring it down to 70, 80 and 85 cents, according to locality, or to 79½ cents on the average.

A footnote of the report is made as follows:

According to the Chicago newspapers, the following notice was posted at the Spring Valley mines on Thursday, August 22:

"Notice to Miners—I am directed by Hon. W. L. Scott, president of this company, to make the miners of Spring Valley the following proposition, viz.: Seventy cents per ton for mining in the third vein, with thirty inches of brushing and three men in a room, from now until May 1, 1890. I am also directed that men now occupying company houses, or who are unwilling to work on these terms, or who do not begin work on or before Monday, September 2, prox., must vacate the houses occupied by them on or before that date or we will be obliged to regain possession peaceably and lawfully. The president of this company desires it to be further understood that we shall not treat with any committee representing any organization in the future, and that each man will have to seek employment for himself and individually.

"CHARLES J. DEVLIN."

This is a reduction of 15 cents per ton, the price formerly paid at Spring Valley having been 90 cents. The conditions attached to the offer are even more obnoxious to the miners than the price offered.

The report contains a reference to the action of the joint conferences held between operators and miners since the first call was issued by the national executive board of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers in September, 1885, commenting on the fourth joint conference held as follows:

The fourth annual conference assembled at Indianapolis in February, 1889, and adopted a scale unacceptable to the Indiana operators (although they voted for it), and then adjourned to meet again at Columbus in March, where the Indiana operators formally withdrew and declined to be bound by the action of the conference. An attempt was then made to adopt a scale for Pennsylvania and Ohio alone; but a disagreement between the miners and the operators from those States prevented action, and the conference adjourned sine die. Thus disastrously ended the well-meant effort to harmonize the interests of miners and operators throughout the country.

On the above statement made by the commission it seems proper to state that while the operators and miners of Ohio and Pennsylvania failed to agree on a scale of prices, either at Indianapolis or Columbus, a joint agreement was made for the Hocking valley district, the basic point of all scales made for Ohio, on the 16th day of April, 1889. The Pittsburg (Pennsylvania) operators and miners adopted their scale of prices jointly for the Pittsburg district May 14, 1889. The scale of prices jointly entered into in both States took effect May 1, 1889, and terminated May 1, 1890. The reduced scale prices accepted for the Pittsburg district of Pennsylvania was about one-third and the Hocking valley district only one-fourth of the reduced prices proposed in the notice signed by Charles J. Devlin under the direction of W. L. Scott, as president of the coal mines at Spring Valley, Illinois.

The commission seems to have done all they could to bring both parties together through joint conferences and otherwise, but without much success. Their report continues:

On Thursday morning, August 8, two committees were appointed, one of miners and one of operators, to confer together in our presence and see whether an agreement could not be reached by them. John McBride of Ohio, president of the National Miners' Progressive Union, was in attendance at this private conference and conducted the case on behalf of the miners. The miners offered to accept a reduction of 5 cents per ton; the operators held out for a reduction of 10 cents.

After another conference the report says:

John McBride (who was absent from the second meeting at Joliet) was present, and he again conducted the miners'

side of the case. The situation remained the same as at Joliet, until after supper, when the operators made an offer of a reduction of $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents. The miners went into secret session to consider this offer and debated it until long after midnight, when, as we are informed, by a vote of eleven to eight they decided to make a counter offer, namely, to work for $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents reduction until October 1, when they would demand an increase of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents a ton. On Saturday morning, August 17, this counter offer was submitted to the operators at a joint meeting, but they rejected it without retiring from the room. It was with difficulty that we prevented an immediate adjournment, but we persuaded the conference to take a recess until 2 o'clock for reflection before coming to any hasty decision. Upon reassembling, neither side would recede from its position, and the conference adjourned sine die, with the understanding that the operators had withdrawn their offer of $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents reduction, and that the miners had receded from their offer to accept a reduction of 5 cents, and would now stand for a reduction of but $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents.

In closing their report the commission said:

Immediately upon the adjournment of the conference the miners, by a rising vote, unanimously thanked us for our labors in their behalf, and Mr. Reid, president of the union, publicly stated that it was the belief of himself and his associates that we had done everything for them within our power. The operators also said to us that they had been unable to discover any bias whatever in our questions or remarks, and they thanked us for the patience with which we had endeavored to arrive at the truth.

FRED H. WINES.
J. M. GOULD.

Springfield, Illinois, August 24, 1889.

DISTRICT NO. 10, NATIONAL PROGRESSIVE UNION.

General Office, New Straitsville; Ohio, October 5, 1889.

To the members of District No. 10, National Progressive Union:

Fellow Miners—As the time is drawing near for the advanced mining rates throughout the State, and for the purpose of informing our miners what mining rates will be after November 1, 1889, we have decided to publish the agreement entered into between the representatives of the Ohio operators and the representatives of District No. 10, National Progressive Union.

Agreement: We, the undersigned officers and miners of the National Progressive Union, hereby guarantee to the oper-

ators' representatives of the State of Ohio an agreement for the price of mining for the year of May 1, 1889, to May 1, 1890, and its successful fulfillment on the basis of 62½ cents from May 1 to November 1, and 67½ cents from November 1 to May 1, 1890, for the Hocking district.

CHRIS EVANS,
JOHN H. TAYLOR,
W. H. BASSETT,
JOHN A. PEDDICORD,
VICTOR E. SULLIVAN,
Executive Committee.

Accepted on part of the operators committee by

H. L. CHAPMAN.
J. S. MORTON.
OSCAR TOWNSEND.

The price of entry driving and all day work should be advanced in proportion to the advance made on mining rates.

We hope all our miners will act in accordance with instructions given, and show to the public that all honorable efforts will be made on our part to faithfully carry out the agreement jointly entered into.

Very truly yours,
CHRIS EVANS, President.

CALL FOR INTERSTATE CONVENTION BY PRESIDENT JOHN
MCBRIDE OF THE NATIONAL PROGRESSIVE UNION.

The miners of northern Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, western Pennsylvania and West Virginia, whose coal goes to the Western and Northwestern markets, are hereby notified that a convention of this competitive district will be held in Indianapolis, Indiana, at 10 a. m. on Wednesday, December 18, 1889. All miners not organized are requested to meet at their respective mines to select and send delegates to this convention.

OBJECTS.

The objects of the convention will be to consider and determine upon a policy by and through which the interests of miners and mine laborers may be better protected and their wages advanced during the coming year. The joint movement of operators and miners for the adjustment of mining rates in this district gave good results to both parties while it lasted, but the withdrawal of Illinois and Indiana operators from the movement, and the bitter warfare waged by them since May last against their employes makes it practically impossible for us to meet them in convention next spring.

The experience of the last six months proves to us that miners in no one or two States in this district should again enter into an agreement with their employers and allow miners in other sections of the district to do all the striking. We must stand or fall together as a district.

We prefer peace rather than contentions with operators, but the good of our craftsmen in this field now demands that we either secure a general agreement or depend upon our own efforts to win just and equitable rates and conditions. The latter, judging from present surroundings, seems inevitable during the coming year, hence we advise the consideration of a policy that will include amongst other things: First, restriction, either in hours, tonnage, or by a series of suspensions at stated intervals throughout the entire competitive district; second, the creation of a large defense fund between this and May 1, 1890, to be used for the carrying out of the policy agreed upon by the convention.

The condition of the coal market now warrants better prices than is being paid for mining, and if our judgment is not seriously at fault, next year will increase the prosperity of the coal mining industry. It will be our own fault if we do not receive better returns for labor performed next year.

We now ask that each miner do his duty and urge the immediate election of delegates.

Fraternally yours,

JOHN MCBRIDE, President.

David Ross, Chris Evans and N. R. Hysell represented the National Progressive Union as delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Boston, Massachusetts, December 10-14, 1889. It was at this convention that Chris Evans, president of District No. 10 of the National Progressive Union, was elected secretary of the American Federation of Labor, succeeding himself each year until December, 1894, at the convention held at Denver, Colorado, where he declined to be a candidate for re-election as secretary after the convention had elected John McBride president, stating to the convention that his line of action was based upon the ground that he did not believe it proper for two miners to occupy the important positions of president and secretary when so many other national and international trade unions were represented.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE INDIANAPOLIS GET-TOGETHER MEETING.

Official Data of the Proceedings of the Bituminous Coal Miners' Convention, December 18-19, 1889.

Convention called to order on the morning of Wednesday, December 18, at 10 o'clock, by President John McBride of the National Progressive Union, Patrick McBryde of the same organization acting as secretary. The committee on credentials—Samuel Skelton of Illinois, Jenkins Reese of Ohio, and W. M. Lacky of Indiana—reported sixty-five delegates entitled to seats. President McBride then delivered his address:

Gentlemen of the Convention—It is easier to expose a wrong than to either prevent or correct it, and it is your duty while assembled here to point out the best course for your craftsmen to pursue in preventing and eradicating the evils which afflict them, and, this done, they must help themselves or continue to suffer.

Much has been said and written about the impositions practiced upon miners, but old as the subject is it still appears far easier both for speakers and writers to "show up" the pernicious systems from which miners suffer than it is to find a remedy that will be acceptable to the miners themselves.

It is often less difficult for a physician to prescribe medicine than to get his patients to take it, and you will probably experience fewer obstacles in the preparation of a remedial policy than you will encounter in getting your constituents to enforce it.

Strikes and Their Lessons.

The history of the "joint movement" in this competitive district during the past four years has clearly demonstrated that in an intellectual contest we have been able to hold our own with the owners and operators of mines, and I do not hesitate in saying that were disputes between mine employers and employes to be adjusted by arbitration instead of by a resort to strikes, the ability of your representatives, aided by facts and the logic of the situation, would have retained prices and bettered mining conditions throughout the competitive district; but the discordant and demoralized state our forces were in, together with their weakness financially, seemed to court the destruction of conciliatory methods and invite a conflict with operators which could not but end in loss and disaster to us.

When conciliatory methods had failed to secure us just and suitable conditions and prices we were justified in resorting to that extreme remedy—a strike. It can not be questioned but that miners know how to strike, and strike hard, but the wisdom generally born of experience has failed as yet to teach us that to know how to strike is not of more importance than to know when to strike to be successful.

The failure of so many of our strikes was due to the fact that they were inaugurated and continued at a time when the miner's labor was not much in demand. It is at this time that the interests of operators suffer but little through a cessation of work, and they prefer to risk the gaining of an advantage by this method rather than disclose the weakness of their claims by submitting to an adjustment through a board of arbitration which would be guided by facts and figures.

The late strikes in Illinois and Indiana are fair examples. The operators offered prices and conditions not warranted by market conditions. This was evidenced by their refusal to arbitrate. They said by word and act, "take our terms or starve!"

Had the time been November 1 instead of May 1 the operators would not have made such arbitrary propositions; but the season of the year was against us, and outrageous and insulting as the terms offered, I felt that for our miners to strike at that time of the year, with the coal trade in such a demoralized condition, would simply mean untold hardship and suffering to miners and their families and end in defeat. I believed in practicing diplomacy, and preferred accepting everything offered rather than fighting an almost hopeless fight; but I would have retaliated at the earliest opportunity by applying the old Mosaic law of demanding "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

We can learn our employers to respect our rights by teaching them to fear our acts. But when will miners cease to be governed by passion and prejudice and be guided by common sense business methods? The history of spring and summer strikes in northern Illinois and in the block coal fields of Indiana presents an almost unbroken record of defeat to our miners, and this knowledge alone should have deterred us from rushing to destruction.

I do not wish to cast any reflection upon the brave men and noble, self-sacrificing women who participated in the late strikes, but I refer to this phase in our affairs in the hope that further efforts will be so shaped as to guard against like calamities overtaking us, and that when officials advise strictly in accord with our surroundings that miners with

more courage than forethought and business sagacity will not misconstrue motives and charge their officials with having sold out to operators.

Necessity for a Defense Fund.

The almost total defeat suffered by us in Indiana and Illinois does not end the difficulties we must expect to encounter in those fields, neither should we forget that strikes and lock-outs will frequently occur in this competitive district over the adjustment of wage disputes, and whether it be to combat oppression, to institute needed reforms or to increase the remuneration for labor performed, a strike or lockout carries with it hardship and suffering to those and the families of those engaged in them.

To relieve the distress of those on strike and to reduce their wants to a minimum is a duty devolving upon our craftsmen who continue at work, but to our shame it must be said that this duty has been but indifferently discharged in the past by the great majority of those who had work to do, and as a result their fellow miners who were striking and suffering were compelled to accept defeat, starve or appeal for aid to a sympathetic and charitable public.

If miners and mine laborers would but do their duty toward each other this need not occur; and I am sick and tired of being humiliated year in and year out by having to publish to the world that my craftsmen are so lacking in energy and enterprise that rather than make proper financial provision in time of peace to protect their interests during periodical and apparently inevitable wage contests, they prefer to be classed as paupers and mendicants. This language may sound severe and harsh to you—it certainly is not pleasant to me—but it is true, and we are forcibly reminded of its truth by the fact that during several months' strike of the 9,000 miners and mine laborers in Indiana and Illinois only about \$40,000 in money and goods was contributed to aid them. This would be but a small amount for the more than 60,000 mine workers of this competitive district to pay, but the records show that fully one-half of this sum was contributed by others than mine workers, and this showing is not creditable to us. No wonder that operators so loudly boasted of their ability to starve their miners into submission.

Repeated defeats have done more to demoralize and discourage our forces than anything else, and to restore that confidence now needed to insure concerted action is no light task, and my judgment is that it can only be done by the adoption of a vigorous and aggressive policy, backed up by the creation of a fund large enough to guarantee our mine

workers protection from hunger's gnawing pains and the vengeance of disappointed employers. Start this fund by calling upon every man employed in or around the mines of this competitive district to contribute, between this and the first of May next, the wages of one fair day's work, and if our craftsmen are desirous of improving the present order of things they will make such a liberal response that, as an incentive, it would speedily augment our organized forces and make it possible for us to act with unanimity and power.

Restriction.

In the call issued for this convention you are asked to consider the question of restriction by shortening the hours of labor, limiting the tonnage or by general suspension at stated intervals. None of these methods should be adopted unless you can readily perceive their scope and bearing and thoroughly understand the results that the practical operation of any or all of them would bring to our craft.

I will not now attempt an elaborate discussion of the merits and demerits of a restrictive policy, but simply touch upon what I believe to be the most important features of the proposed methods.

Eight Hours.

To shorten the hours of labor in and around the mines would not, under conditions similar to those existing for the past five years, reduce the aggregate coal tonnage of this competitive field, but it would add to the health and comfort of our mine workers and in addition thereto so distribute the work of producing coal that it would necessitate the operation of idle mines or an increased number of working days, and either of these would absorb the surplus labor surrounding our mines and thus remove a standing menace to our wage interests.

The miner who is blessed with youth, health and strength generally favors the eight-hour system because he can do as much work in that time as he usually does in ten hours, but the miner who is growing old and feeble—and God knows they are the ones who should perform the lightest labor and work the fewest hours—as a rule wants to take his own time to do his day's work, and he looks upon the limiting of his hours of toil as a curtailment of his ability to earn a living. This is a false method of reasoning, but it has and may again work against the establishment of the eight-hour workday.

Limited Tonnage.

By assigning a certain tonnage per day to each miner, based upon the ease with which coal can be mined and the

price paid therefor, the production of coal could be so limited as not to exceed market demands. By this system we would speedily become masters of the situation and be able to command better pay for our labor, but like the eight-hour system this method meets with opposition. The young man does his work, goes home and complains about the old men remaining in the mine while he is forced to lie idle.

It is impossible to make an equitable division of the physical strength and weakness of our miners, but if this difference of opinion was cast aside and restriction by tonnage put in force, all miners would soon be strengthened financially.

General Suspensions.

A general suspension of mining at stated periods would be the most radical, but the easiest and more effective way of preventing the markets from being glutted with coal.

No surer plan could be adopted for keeping the selling price of coal upon a paying basis—one that would not only allow miners living rates for their labor, but insure the operators of mines a fair return upon invested capital. The objections as to shorter hours and restriction by tonnage can not be raised against this system, because it does not discriminate between the young and old, the strong and feeble miners, but places them all upon the same level.

To put this plan of restriction in operation, however, would necessitate our interfering at times with the public weal by unsettling and temporarily paralyzing other industries, and this would bring upon us the condemnation of the press and the public, both of which are now potent factors in our favor; but "the laborer is worthy of his hire," and if you deem this method of restriction the best adapted to ameliorate your condition in life, the censure of those unacquainted with the hardships imposed upon you through unrequited toil should not deter you from putting it in force.

I do not doubt the ability of this convention to map out a clean-cut, practical policy which, if enforced, would so retrieve the fallen fortunes of our craft, but I must remind you that no policy, however good, and no officials, be they ever so able, can or will succeed in ameliorating the conditions surrounding our calling unless encouraged and sustained by the hearty and determined co-operation of mine workers themselves.

Organization—Conclusion.

We now have two organizations struggling for supremacy, and this retards progress and mars the harmony that should follow in the wake of organized efforts. The operators, believing (what we know to be true) that to divide is to destroy

the force of organization, smiles serenely at the warlike attitude the two organizations occupy towards each other, and by every device and stratagem known to man urge and encourage us to "on with the fight."

I want unity and our craft interests demand it, but to obtain this we must solidify our forces under one head to avoid a conflict of authority such as we have witnessed during the past four years. I am reliably informed that Master Workman Rea of N. T. A. 135, K. of L., has lately expressed himself as being in favor of consolidation by the selection of one set of officers and one fund. If this could be done, with the consent of the members of both organizations, peace and good will would take the place of malice and hatred, division would be displaced by unity which, when once established, nothing short of an industrial crisis in the country would prevent a speedy adjustment of our many grievances.

At the conclusion of his address he informed the delegates that, as this was a meeting of the competitive districts and not of the National Progressive Union, it would be necessary to elect officers to conduct the business of the convention.

On motion of Hon. David Ross, President McBride and Secretary McBryde were unanimously elected to fill their respective positions. William Scaife of Illinois and Ebenezer Lewis of Ohio were appointed as assistant secretaries.

Moved that the chairman appoint all committees. Adopted, and the committees were appointed as follows:

Order of Business — Maurice Gray, Indiana; James R. Monahan, Illinois; W. H. Turner, Ohio; Frank Lockhart, Indiana; James O'Hare, Illinois; Henry C. Harris, Ohio.

Resolutions — Abraham Winders, Pennsylvania; Louis Shimp, West Virginia; P. H. Penna, Indiana; Chris Evans, Ohio; David Ross, Illinois.

Report of committee on order of business:

1. Report of the delegates as to the feelings of their constituents relative to the objects named in the call for the convention.

2. The solidification of our forces.

3. Restriction.

4. Defense fund.

5. Scale rates.

6. No member of this convention to speak more than five minutes at any one time on any one subject, except by the consent of the chair and approval of the house.

Expression of Opinion.

On the objects named in the call for the convention every delegate in the convention gave a report as to the wishes of the men he represented. They were a unit in favor of demanding an advance in wages; in reducing the hours of labor to eight hours a day; in solidifying the organized forces of the craft. While all were in favor of restriction, some were in favor of restricted tonnage and others were in favor of periodical suspension. A few delegates were uninstructed on these points.

Solidification of the Forces.

President McBride informed the convention that he had tendered Master Workman Rae and Secretary Watchorn of National Trades Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, an invitation to be present at this convention.

Moved that M. W. Rae and Secretary Watchorn of National Trades Assembly No. 135 be invited to attend and address the convention tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock on the subject under discussion.

Moved that we adjourn until tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock. Carried.

THURSDAY SESSION.

Convention called to order at 9 o'clock a. m. President McBride introduced J. B. Rae, master workman of No. 135, Knights of Labor, to the convention, who spoke as follows:

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen—I am heartily in accord with the sentiments generally expressed by the delegates with regard to bringing together the members of our craft. I shall be glad to do as much as possible to bring about what you expressed yourselves as being anxious to bring about. In the future neither failures, discouragements or difficulties should prevent us from working in harmony toward that end. I like that statement in the invitation I received to address you, referring to an honest effort to unite our forces. Mr. Watchorn and I meant no discourtesy by not making an immediate public reply to the invitation. We were both traveling, and it was some time before the invitation reached us. We will meet difficulties in going into this matter of consolidation, but if we go into it as honest men I have no fear of the result. The desire for it has been in my mind for the past year. The clashing of our forces was to me anything but agreeable. I felt keenly that a great deal of the energy that was being spent, seemingly inclined to gain the mastery, might have been better spent in trying to improve the condition of our craft. Since our meeting last December in Columbus I have

never ceased to hope that we might meet and discuss, dispassionately, future possibilities. Let me say that when the time comes we shall stand together as one; when our craft shall be unified I shall be ready to raise my eyes to heaven and say, 'Thank God for the day.'

"Everything I may say at present can not be considered as necessarily binding on the members of No. 135. I know what has been frequently expressed in different regions, but we have had no special meetings to consider the question, and it is only an expression of sentiments that I shall be able to give on this occasion. We have more difficulties to meet than we might have had but for the past year's struggle. It has been interpreted by many that the fight between the National Progressive Union and the National Trades Assembly No. 135 is a fight to the death. If one succeeds in downing the other, would that success be absolute? I am inclined to think that even if that could have been accomplished the success would have been in a large measure a failure, for the simple reason that in the complete downing of one organization prejudices and feelings would have been left that would have made it impossible for the other to succeed.

"Now, it may be that when we come to approach this question—to look at it carefully—we will find some very serious business. You gentlemen are desirous of one organization. There is no change of sentiment in No. 135, and our officers and members are just as sincerely desirous of the same results. You might possibly like to see that organization the organization of the National Progressive Union. Now, here you will see our first difference. You thought this could be accomplished at that time by laying aside both organizations then existing and forming a new one. That would have been impossible. I think more difficulties exist today than existed then in attempting anything of the kind. We have got to meet the emergencies in a way that will neither offend the prejudices nor call upon any sacrifice of what they may conceive to be principle. Any attempt of this kind must not be done in an arbitrary manner. A considerable percentage of the membership of No. 135 might meet together and make an arrangement and pass laws, but it would be binding upon the members of our craft in so far as they, voluntarily, submit themselves thereto. Until the time is reached when we, by a system of check or working card, can compel parties to submit to what we or a majority may decide we have got to consider that the best membership in any labor organization is voluntary. In entering into the matter it must be with a generous spirit, for it seems to be the only way in which we can enter upon it with any hope of success. The only safe

way to proceed is to conserve as much as possible; to take all that is good; to work together along the line of all that will be possible and profitable and leave the future to overcome or lay aside that which will not be to our benefit. I am heartily in favor of a plan suggested by your president, and if I understand him correctly he did not propose the overthrow or abolition of either, but such a union of forces as will bring in both nation and State, localities or regions, as would bring the force under one control, with one set of officers, leaving the members of our craft to belong either to the secret organization or to the old one, holding meetings and working together under the direction of one set of officers for the general good."

He was followed by Secretary Watchorn, who indorsed all that had been said by Mr. Rae.

D. Ross of Illinois and Chris Evans of Ohio also spoke in favor of uniting the forces, but were opposed to any plan that would compromise their allegiance to the principles of trade unions.

President McBride explained the plan proposed by him two years ago, which was then rejected by National District Assembly No. 135.

The committee on resolutions requested to be discharged, as they were unable to agree on what should be presented to the convention. Request complied with.

Motion to appoint a new committee of three. Adopted. Committee: Messrs. Davis, Penna and Scaife.

Moved that a vote of thanks be tendered to Messrs. Rae and Watchorn for the charitable and kind remarks they have made regarding the solidification of the forces. Adopted.

A motion was introduced by Mr. Monahan calling for a vote of the convention on the eight-hour system and was responded to by a unanimous vote.

A majority of twenty-eight was in favor of a restriction, either in tonnage or in complete stoppage at stated periods, in addition to the eight-hour system.

Mr. Ross, who was at the convention of the federation held in Boston last month, told of the work of the convention and its attitude toward the mining industries, saying it had felt itself called upon, by the peculiar conditions that govern the miner's life, to especially favor that trade. The convention paid the miners a marked compliment, inasmuch as it had made Chris Evans, a miner and an old war-horse in the labor movement, its secretary. As to the reduction of hours, he said it was a fact that the more hours of labor that were rendered, just in that proportion is enhanced the value of that labor.

Mr. Evans, who was present, was asked to give the meeting some idea of the action of the convention regarding the support to be given to the mining craft. He said:

"It was agreed that miners were worse off than any other trade represented in the country, and the expression of the convention was to give the craft all support possible."

The committee on resolutions then presented the following:

"Whereas, The existence of two organizations, contending for supremacy, has been a source of evil to us as a craft, and will, eventually, result in a total demoralization of our forces; and

"Whereas, Master Workman J. B. Rae and Secretary Watchorn of National Trades Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, have signified their desire to have an organization with one fund and one set of officers; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we, to the extent of the three objects named, indorse the position of Rae and Watchorn; and be it further

"Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed by this convention to confer with the officials of National Trades Assembly No. 135 to define a plan by which the mining forces can be united and submitted to the members of each organization for their approval."

Moved to adjourn to meet at 8 o'clock tomorrow morning.

FRIDAY SESSION.

President McBride called the convention to order at 8 o'clock a. m., and the following letter was read:

"Patrick McBryde, Secretary-Treasurer National Progressive Union:

"My Dear Sir—Mr. Rae instructs me to extend to your organization, through its officers, a cordial invitation to attend a national convention of miners to be held at Columbus, Ohio, January 24, 1890.

"Hoping that you will be able to accept this invitation, and the miners of America be benefited thereby, I remain,

"Respectfully,

"ROBERT WATCHORN,

"Secretary N. D. A. No. 135.

"Indianapolis, December 19."

A letter was read from Henry D. Lloyd of Chicago congratulating them on the unity of purpose expressed by the call for and response to this convention, and giving assur-

ance of his sympathy and hearty co-operation in any or all legitimate movements toward the amelioration of the craft.

"Resolved, That the thanks of this convention be extended to H. D. Lloyd of Chicago, Illinois, for the interest he has expressed in the miners' cause generally, and the service he rendered in behalf of the miners of northern Illinois during the late conflict with the operators of that portion of the competitive district; and that our officials be instructed to form a plan by which the recommendation contained in his communication to the convention may be properly carried out."

L. H. McClellan, master workman of District Assembly No. 106, sent fraternal greetings to the members of the convention.

Restriction and Defense Fund.

The committee on resolutions introduced the following:

"Resolved, That we are in favor of a restriction in the output of coal in this competitive field, and leave to the Columbus convention to determine the best method of restriction and the time it shall take effect."

Adopted.

"Whereas, The almost total defeat of the miners of northern Illinois and in the block coal fields of Indiana has caused them to lose, by a cessation of work for six months and by reduced wages for the next six months, at least one-half million dollars, and to this may be added the amount of money contributed by those not engaged in this strike; and

"Whereas, The miners in other parts of the competitive field are now in danger of having prices and conditions similar to Indiana and Illinois forced upon them, to prevent such a calamity mine workers of the entire district must decide, and decide quickly, to make a mutual and determined fight along the line by contributions of a few dollars each to a fund that will be large enough to guarantee the success of a strike, in order to restore, not alone the old rates in Illinois and Indiana, but an increase in price throughout the entire field. This must be done or all go down to a lower level; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we favor the creation of a fund large enough for both offensive and defensive purposes, and with this end in view we recommend that mine workers throughout the entire competitive district be assessed \$1 per month for the months of February, March and April, the sum to be paid into the general treasury.

"Resolved, That we advise our mine workers of this district to consider that if an amount equal to one-half the

money lost through the failure of the late strikes was centered in a general fund it would prevent the defeat in future contests for wage adjustment; be it further

“Resolved, That the mine workers of this district instruct their delegates to the national convention to be held in Columbus, Ohio, at an early date to vote for or against the creation of such a general fund by the methods herein advised, and to also provide for the election of a board of trustees and proper safeguards to prevent the misuse of any part of the funds for purposes other than those for which it is asked to be created.”

Adopted.

Eight-Hour Day.

“Whereas, The reports of the delegates show that the miners represented are almost unanimous in their desire to have the eight-hour day in the competitive district, either on May 1, 1890, or as soon thereafter as possible; therefore be it

“Resolved, That we ask the miners and mine workers in this competitive field to prepare to put the eight-hour day in force on May 1, 1890, and that our delegates to the Columbus convention urge the co-operation of miners.”

Adopted.

Pay Days in Illinois.

“Resolved, That this convention urge the miners of Illinois to use every available means to establish a shorter interval between pay days.”

Moved to appoint a special committee on scale. Carried, and the chairman appointed the following: Evans of Ohio, Ross of Illinois, Kennedy of Indiana, Shimp of West Virginia, Winters of Pennsylvania.

In the absence of the committee the following resolution was introduced:

“Resolved, That the thanks of the miners represented in this district convention be extended to Messrs. Lawlor, Cowdrey, Tuttle, Foley and others; the *Chicago Herald* and other papers that express a sympathetic interest in the general cause of our craft, and particularly during the protracted fight in northern Illinois.”

Carried.

Moved that we elect a committee to confer with the officials of No. 135, Knights of Labor, regarding the uniting of our forces. John McBride, David Ross and Patrick McBryde were elected.

The committee on scale having reported, after considerable discussion the following scale was agreed to as the price of mining from May 1, 1890, to March 1, 1891:

Scale of Prices.

"Hocking, 80 cents per ton; western Pennsylvania, 90 cents; Indiana block, 95 cents; Indiana bituminous, district, 85 cents; Wilmington, Illinois (15 cents additional for dead work), 90 cents; Streator, Illinois, 90 cents; LaSalle Illinois, \$1; Spring Valley, Illinois, \$1; Springfield, Illinois, 72½ cents; Staunton and Mt. Olive, Illinois, 65 cents; Peoria district, Illinois, 85 cents; Moundsville, West Virginia, 80 cents."

The following resolutions were then adopted:

"Whereas, The enforcement of scale rates agreed upon at this convention depends entirely upon the united support of our miners, organized or unorganized; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we ask the unorganized miners to unite with us in making use of the greatest organization ever known in the United States for enforcing scale rates and protecting our interests generally.

"Resolved, That the delegates from all over the competitive fields represented at the Columbus convention meet in their districts and take similar action regarding the unanimity of increasing prices, and the first of May be the date when all will take decisive action toward carrying out the scale rates in the different districts.

"Whereas, An effort will be made at Columbus, Ohio, in January next, to consolidate our organized forces under one head, and this fact prevents us from acting definitely upon many important matters relating to interests of mine workers of this competitive field; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That if the two national organizations do not agree to unite and take decided action upon all questions referred to them by this convention, the delegates to those conventions from this district shall meet immediately after the national convention adjourns and determine to take decided action as a competitive district."

The machine question was then brought up, and as the convention lacked some data, the following motion was introduced and adopted:

"Resolved, That this convention request that the representatives to the national convention to be held in Columbus, Ohio, have a committee of five appointed to draft a scale of prices for machine miners and day laborers."

A vote of thanks was then tendered by the convention to the officers, the press of the city, and the convention adjourned.

JOHN MCBRIDE, President.

PATRICK MCBRYDE, Secretary.

WILLIAM SCAIFE,

EBENEZER LEWIS, Assistant Secretaries.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE COAL TRADE.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON BITUMINOUS COAL.

1679. Father Hennepin discovered a coal mine on Illinois river.

1684. William Penn granted privilege to mine coal in Pittsburg.

1750. Richmond (Virginia) coal was mined and marketed.

1758. Coal was discovered in Coal Hill, opposite Pittsburg, on Monongahela.

1766. Richmond coal was advertised at 12d per bushel.

1774. Coal was discovered at Deep river, North Carolina.

1786. Coal was discovered at Chinchogak Bay, Alaska.

1802. Initial shipment of Pittsburg coal to Cincinnati.

1804. Coal was first mined near Frostburg, Maryland.

1810. Coal mined in Summit county, Ohio.

1811. Coal mined in Fulton, Perry county, Indiana.

1834. First mention of coal in Alabama by Dr. Alex Jones.

1848. First discovery of coal in Washington.

1852. First production of coal on Pacific coast, at Newport, on Coos Bay.

1858. Indiana block coal district opened.

1862. Clearfield district opened.

1864. Domestic soft coal at Chicago, \$17.

1871. Straitsville (Ohio) district opened and began operations.

FIRST COAL DEALER.

ABOUT 1807 ABIJAH SMITH HAD A MONOPOLY OF "BLACK STONE" THAT WOULD BURN.

One of the Derby dealers, in speaking of the coal business in this vicinity the other day, called attention to the fact that the first coal ever mined in this country was taken out of the earth by a Derby man, who afterward offered the first cargo for sale. This man was Abijah Smith, father of the founder of Birmingham, who lived here many years. The story is that Abijah Smith heard through some man who had been traveling in Pennsylvania and who, passing through

Derby on his way home, stopped at Smith's blacksmith shop to have his horse shod, about a "black stone" in Pennsylvania which would burn. The result of this conversation was that Smith made a trip to Pennsylvania, and eventually located there. He left Derby in 1806, and in 1807 mined fifty-six tons of coal in Plymouth, Pennsylvania, at the old mine now rented to the Lehigh and Wilkes-Barre Coal Company, and known as the Smith red ash coal. In November, 1807, he purchased a boat, which was called an "ark," for \$24, and on November 14 this boat was loaded with fifty tons and floated down the Susquehanna river to Columbia, where the German settlers looked with wonder at the "black stone," and thought Smith must be crazy to think about selling such stuff.

It is said that to demonstrate the utility of the article Smith arranged with the landlord to use his fireplace, and placing in it a grate especially constructed, started a fire on which coal was piled. The members of the party watched to see the black stone burn, but after some time the wood burned out, leaving the coal ignited in only a few places. Smith invited the party to take dinner with him, promising another trial after dinner. But after dinner, upon the party's returning to the room in which the grate was located, they were amazed to see the coal burning fiercely. There were people from many cities present when the test was made, and the wonders of the new fuel spread over the country. Being joined by his brother, John Smith, Abijah Smith in 1808 began shipping coal to various cities, and continued in this business until it became very successful. Three arkloads were sent to New York by way of Havre de Grace in 1808.

There are two stories of what became of this coal, one being that the people carried away the entire 150 tons as curiosities, while the other is that it was sold. Whatever became of this first cargo of coal, the Smith brothers gradually built up a large business. It was hard to introduce because it was expensive and unknown, but it gradually made its way. For a number of years the average annual sales for the whole country was six arkloads, or 300 tons, and the Smiths enjoyed a monopoly more complete than any man or combination in the business has ever since enjoyed. Nearly all the early operators, except the Smiths, made failures of the work of Mining.

The first coal was brought into Derby in 1807 by Abijah Smith upon his return to Derby from Pennsylvania after his first trip. It was only so much as he could bring along in his pocket, and it was looked upon as a great curiosity. That

was ninety-four years ago, and since that time the coal shipped here has been enormous.

In 1820 the annual product for the entire country was less than 1,000 tons. In 1879 the amount shipped to Derby was 35,000 tons, and it is estimated that today Derby, Shelton and Ansonia receive and consume annually about 50,000 tons of anthracite and 15,000 tons of bituminous coal, or a total of 65,000 tons. The amount Abijah Smith brought to Derby in his pocket in 1807 weighed about one pound. Today the amount in pounds which comes here is about 145,600,000.—Ansonia (Connecticut) *Sentinel*.

EARLY PRODUCTION OF COAL.

The production of coal in the United States for the year 1814 is recorded as twenty-two tons of anthracite, and for the year 1821, 1,322 tons.

Up to this time we find no record of any bituminous coal being mined for sale, excepting Richmond, Virginia, and Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, in small quantities. In 1820, 365 tons of anthracite were sent to Philadelphia from the head of the Lehigh river.

In the year 1860, the date from which this history is written, the record shows that 8,115,842 tons of anthracite were mined, and of bituminous coal mined, 6,494,200 tons, or a total of 14,610,042 tons.

For the year 1889 the anthracite production was 45,546,970 tons, and for bituminous coal mined 95,682,543 tons, or a total tonnage of anthracite and bituminous coal mined in the United States during the year 1889 amounting to 141,229,513 tons.

A PRIMITIVE METHOD

OF WEIGHING ANTHRACITE COAL IN SCHUYLKILL COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA.

Not having any means of weighing coal, a rude weighing machine was improvised.

On a trestle about six feet high a beam about eight feet long was pivoted, and a box was hung with chains from each end of the beam. One of the boxes was loaded with a half-ton of rocks. When a farmer would come along and ask for a half-ton of coal the empty box was filled with coal until it balanced the half-ton of rocks in the other box and then transferred to the farmer's wagon, and was satisfactory to both sides of the deal.

COAL TRADE.

HISTORICAL NOTES OF THE ANTHRACITE INDUSTRY.

1820. Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company began mining and shipping coal from Summit Hill region.

1825. Schuylkill canal was completed from Mt. Carbon to Philadelphia.

1829. Canal opened from Mauch Chunk to Easton, and Delaware and Hudson Canal Company began transporting coal from Carbondale region.

1831. Nesquehoning railroad and plane built; Morris canal opened, Philipsburg to Newark.

1832. Shamokin division Northern Central Railway originally opened; Little Schuylkill Railroad began transporting coal from Tamaqua region.

1833. Delaware division Pennsylvania canal opened.

1834. Wyoming and State canals opened.

1836. Morris canal opened to Jersey City.

1837. Canal opened, White Haven to Mauch Chunk; shipments of coal began from Beaver Meadow region; shipments of coal began from Pine Grove via Union canal; Morris and Essex Railroad opened.

1838. Shipments of coal began from Hazelton region.

1839. Summit Branch Railroad opened; shipments of coal began from Shamokin region westward, and from Lykens valley westward; leased to S. B. R. R. Co. 1866.

1840. Shipments of coal began from Buck mountain region; Quakake Railroad opened.

1842. Philadelphia and Reading Railroad began transporting coal to Port Richmond.

1846. Shipments of coal began from Wilkes-Barre region, via L. & S. R. R., planes and Lehigh canal; Shamokin division Northern Central Railway reorganized 1851.

1850. Pennsylvania Coal Company began business.

1852. Central Railroad of New Jersey opened from Elizabeth to Easton.

1854. Delaware, Lackawanna and Western began mining and shipping.

1855. Lehigh Valley Railroad Company began transporting coal to Philipsburg.

1856. Treverton Railroad opened; third rail laid from Hampton Junction.

1857. Belvidere Delaware Railroad began transporting coal.

1858. Mining began in McAuley mountain region; Lake and Bloomsburg Railroad opened.

1863. Shamokin division Northern Central Railway leased to Northern Central Railway.

1864. Stove coal sold at auction in July for \$12.03 per ton.

1868. Lehigh and Susquehanna Railroad opened to Philipsburg.

1869. Pennsylvania and New York Railroad opened to Waverley; Morris and Essex Railroad leased to D., L. & W. R. R. Co.

1870. Nesquehoning Valley Railroad and Panther Creek tunnel opened; Sunbury, Hazleton and Wilkes-Barre Railroad opened.

1871. Erie Railroad Company began mining and shipping coal.

1872. Morris canal leased by Lehigh Valley Railroad Company.

1873. Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company began mining and shipping coal; Lake and Bloomsburg Railroad leased to D. L. & W. R. R. Co.

1874. Lehigh and Wilkes-Barre Coal Company began operations.

1878. Sunbury, Hazleton and Wilkes-Barre Railroad leased by Pennsylvania.

1879. Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company leased to Delaware and Bound Brook Railroad May 1; stove coal sold at auction in September for \$2.36 per ton.

1882. North and West Branch Railroad opened November 23.

1886. Jersey Central arranged to resume independence on January 1, 1887.

1889. Poughkeepsie Bridge Route opened; Franklin B. Gowen died.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

EARLY RECORDS OF MINING PRICES AND WAGE
SCALE AGREEMENTS JOINTLY ENTERED INTO
BETWEEN COAL OPERATORS AND MINERS
FOR DATES NAMED.ANTHRACITE—JOINT AGREEMENT MADE AT POTTSVILLE, PENN-
SYLVANIA, JULY 29, 1870.

Agreement made at Pottsville, Pennsylvania 29th day of July, 1870, between the committee of the Anthracite Board of Trade and the committee of the Workingmen's Benevolent Association:

It is agreed that the Workingmen's Benevolent Association shall not sustain any man who is discharged for incompetency, bad workmanship, bad conduct or other good cause; and that the operators shall not discharge any man or officer for actions or duties imposed on him by the Workingmen's Benevolent Association.

It is further agreed that the spirit and intention of the resolution (called the equality resolution) passed by the Workingmen's Benevolent Association is that each man shall work regularly, and it is the place of the bosses and operators to see that he does.

The resolution is that any miner earning above expenses over \$100 and less than \$125 per month shall be reduced 10 per cent on the basis, and any miner earning over \$125 and under \$150 per month shall be reduced 20 per cent on the basis. Any miner earning over \$150 and under \$200 per month shall be reduced 30 per cent on the basis, and any miner earning over \$200 per month shall be reduced 40 per cent on the basis. For obtaining the price of coal monthly, the president of the Anthracite Board of Trade and the president of the Workingmen's Benevolent Association of Schuylkill county shall meet on the 25th day of each month and select five operators, who shall on the 25th following produce a statement sworn to or affirmed of the price of coal at Port Carbon for all sizes above pea coal.

The five operators shall be selected from a list of those shipping over 40,000 tons of coal annually, and none shall be selected a second time until the list is exhausted.

The price of coal so obtained shall fix the rate of wages for that month, and this agreement in regard to the mode of obtaining prices shall remain in force during the year 1870.

WILLIAM KENDRICK,
J. K. SIGFRIED,
M. P. FOWLER,
BAIRD SNYDER,
SAMUEL E. GRISCOM,
Operators.

JOHN SINEY,
GEORGE CORBETT,
GEORGE ATTHEY,
JAMES BARRY,
ROBERT WEIGHTMAN,
Miners.

1871. Basis of anthracite scale of prices (sliding scale), exclusive of sizes below chestnut, f. o. b., \$2.50 per ton at Port Carbon, Pennsylvania.

For every 3 cents advanced or declined in the market price of coal 1 cent shall be added or reduced from the \$2.50 basis.

Contract miners, per car, \$1; miners by the week, \$12; laborers by the week, \$10.20.

1875. Basis in the Lehigh district for coal sold at tide-water, \$5 per ton.

Hazleton Mines. Colliery Cars.	Per Car, Cents.	Per Week, Miners.	Per Week, Laborers.
At \$5.00 per ton-----	.87	\$12.60	\$10.80
At 4.50 per ton-----	.82	11.97	10.26
At 4.00 per ton-----	.78	11.34	9.72
At 3.50 per ton-----	.74	10.71	9.18

1874. Wyoming and Lackawanna districts, basis rate for two-ton car: For the year, 80 cents, or 40 cents per ton.

1875. January 4, 10 per cent reduction from the basis.

1876. September 1, 10 per cent further reduction.

1877. April 1, 10 per cent further reduction.

1879. December 1, 10 per cent advance.

1880. May 1, 10 per cent advance.

1882. July 1, 10 per cent advance.

CHAPTER XL.

BITUMINOUS—MUTUAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE OPERATORS AND THE MINERS OF DISTRICT NO. 1 OF THE O. M. A. A., ENTERED INTO THIS NINTH DAY OF MAY, 1884, AT NEW STRAITSVILLE, PERRY COUNTY, OHIO.

Article 1. All miners employed in furnace mines shall receive the same rate per ton for mining and the same price for entry driving as the miners working in commercial mines. All other rules regulating prices for different kinds of work, as well as the system of working mines throughout the district, shall be rigidly observed, and should a violation of said prices or system take place, either by the operator or miner, said violation shall be investigated by a joint committee consisting of three representatives of both parties, and if possible an amicable settlement arrived at. Failing in this, however, the miners may, if they so desire, stop all furnace mines by giving one week's notice. Said joint meeting shall be held within one week from the time of said difference.

Art. 2. In all cases when commercial mines suspend work for the purpose of adjusting the price of mining, the price paid for mining shall be maintained in all furnace mines until an adjustment is arrived at by the commercial mines. After a settlement is made, however, prices shall be uniform throughout the district.

Art. 3. During a suspension of work in commercial mines the furnace mines shall continue working, provided that all coal mined, excepting nut and pea coal, shall be used for no other purpose than that of supplying the furnaces with which the mines are connected.

Art. 4. Should a strike be inaugurated in this district the miners working in commercial mines shall, after the expiration of two weeks, be entitled to an equal share of the work performed in furnace mines.

Art. 5. In selecting miners to work in furnace mines we would recommend that no miners should be employed outside of those already under the employment of the company. The miners to be taken from those mines that are nearest to where the furnaces are located. And further, that a sufficient number of miners should be employed in said furnace mines that will at all times enable them to make as near as practicable the average wages of other mines operated by the company.

Art. 6. All district rules conflicting with any of these rules are hereby repealed.

Art. 7. These rules shall take effect and be in force after receiving a majority of all votes cast by the miners of District No. 1 of above rules, O. M. A. A.

All returns for or against to be made to the secretary of conference committee, Alexander Johnson, Buchtel, Athens county, Ohio.

In behalf of the miners—

CHRISTOPHER EVANS, Chairman.
ALEXANDER JOHNSON, Secretary.
PATRICK HOLERAN.
JOHN HARDESTY.
WILLIAM E. EVANS.

The Columbus and Hocking Coal and Iron Co.,
By J. R. BUCHEL, Vice-President.

ADOPTION OF THE FIRST INTERSTATE WAGE SCALE OF PRICES BETWEEN COAL OPERATORS AND COAL MINERS.

BITUMINOUS.

Scale of prices for mining adopted at the joint conference of coal operators and coal miners of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and West Virginia, at Columbus, Ohio, February 23-24, 1886:

Pittsburg-----	2¾ cents per bushel, or	71 cents per ton.
Hocking valley -----		60 cents per ton.
Indiana block -----		80 cents per ton.
Indiana bituminous No. 1-----		65 cents per ton.
Indiana bituminous No. 2-----		75 cents per ton.
Wilmington, Illinois -----		95 cents per ton.
Streator, Illinois -----		80 cents per ton.
Grape Creek, Illinois -----		75 cents per ton.
Mount Olive, Illinois -----		56½ cents per ton.
Springfield, Illinois -----		62½ cents per ton.
Staunton, Illinois -----		56½ cents per ton.
Des Moines, Iowa -----		90 cents per ton.
Reynoldsville, Fairmount, screened coal,		71 cents per ton.
At West Virginia, the Kanawha district reduced prices to be		
restored to 75 cents per ton.		

These prices to rule from May 1, 1886, to May 1, 1887.

ARBITRATION AWARD.

Youngstown, Ohio, January 31, 1887.

We, the undersigned representatives of mine operators and miners of the National and Fairview mines at Washingtonville, Ohio, having had submitted to us the disputed question of what shall be the price paid for mining coal at the above-named mines compared with the price paid for mining coal in the Hocking valley, and having fully ascertained the amount of wages earned by the miners and selling price of coal, and all other evidence obtainable pertaining to the question at issue, do hereby agree, decide and award that the price of mining shall be advanced from 82½ cents per ton to 87 cents per ton for coal screened over three-quarter-inch screen. The price of mining to advance or decline with that of Hocking valley, and a difference of 27 cents to be maintained.

This award not to disturb any other prices paid at these mines apart from mining coal.

GEORGE HARRISON.

J. M. WALTER.

W. H. WARNER.

N. R. HYSELL.

SECOND JOINT SCALE CONFERENCE.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, FEBRUARY 8-11, 1887.

The following scale was unanimously adopted as the scale upon which to base the new scale from May 1, 1887, to May 1, 1888:

Hocking, 60 cents; Pennsylvania, 69 cents; Reynoldsville and Fairmont, 65 cents; Indiana block, 80 cents; Indiana bituminous, 65 cents; Wilmington, Illinois, 95 cents; Streator, 80 cents; Grape Creek, 75 cents; LaSalle, 90 cents; Bloomington, 95 cents; Mt. Olive, 56½ cents; Staunton, 56½ cents; Springfield, 62½ cents; Mattoon, 75 cents; Minonk, 85 cents; Wenona, 90 cents; Pana, 56½ cents; Lincoln, 62½ cents; Peoria and Canton districts, 70 cents; Spring Valley 90 cents.

JOHN BRASHEARS, Secretary.

Resolved, That the price for mining be advanced 5 cents per ton from May 1 until November 1, 1887, and 5 cents more from November 1, 1887, to May 1, 1888. The above shall not take effect until these districts named in the scale shall have complied with the provisions of such scale or are idle by reason of failure to comply, it being hereby delegated

to the interstate board of arbitration and conciliation to declare when all districts named in the scale shall have complied substantially with its provisions. It shall be the duty of said board to determine said question of compliance prior to May 15 next and give notice thereof. Upon the first report of such compliance the advance shall take effect as of May 1, 1887, conditions conceded and prices paid.

Conference officers—

S. N. YEOMAN, President.

CHRIS EVANS, Secretary.

Note—By resolution the joint conference of February, 1887, agreed to change the differential from 11 to 9 cents per ton between Pennsylvania and Hocking valley prices.

April 15, 1887.

We, the undersigned representatives of the Belmont Coal Company, Ohio, and Pittsburg Coal Works Company, Ohio, and their employes hereby agree that the price per ton for mining coal at the above-named mines shall be reduced $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per ton, or from $62\frac{1}{2}$ to 60 cents per ton, same as paid at the railroad mines in the Sixth district of the Ohio Miners' Amalgamated Association, and that hereafter the prices at the above-named mines shall rise and fall with and be the same as paid and ruling at the mines in said district.

On behalf of Belmont Coal Company,

W. S. HEATHERINGTON.

On behalf of Pittsburg Coal Works Company,

L. ROCKMOHOUSES.

On behalf of Miners' Association,

GEORGE HARRISON,

District President.

JAMES TYPLES,

THEO GREENWOOD,

JOHN BEVERIDGE,

JAMES PATTERSON,

Miners' Committee.

ARTICLE OF AGREEMENT.

May 1, 1887.

We, the undersigned representatives of operators and miners of Monarch mine, Dennison, Ohio, do hereby agree and decide that the price paid by the operators and accepted by the miners for May 1, 1887, for mining run of mine coal

shall be 50 cents per ton, compared with 65 cents in Hocking valley for screened coal, and that any general advance or decline of mining price in Ohio shall be proportioned by the then existing unchanged prices paid for run of mine coal at Monarch and screened coal in Hocking, and the result shall be added or deducted, as the case may be, and shall determine the amount of difference to be made in price per ton for run of mine coal at said Monarch mine.

This agreement, however, shall not prevent the opening of the question of wages and readjustment of prices by either party at any time and submitting it as an open question to arbitration.

On behalf of Operators,

I. C. ALLEN,

Vice-President.

On behalf of Miners' Association,

GEORGE HARRISON,

President of Sixth District.

Youngstown, Ohio, June 30, 1887.

Article of agreement by and between the operators of the mine at Washingtonville, Ohio, and N. R. Hysell, representative of the miners of said mines.

Agree "that the price of mining shall be 87½ cents per ton until such times as the Shenango miners are up to Columbus scale."

Signed WALTERS & FERRIS,

Per J. M. WALTERS,

Operators.

N. R. HYSELL,

Miners.

JOINT AGREEMENT

OF MINERS AND OPERATORS OF TUSCARAWAS VALLEY, ADOPTED
AT MASSILLON, OHIO, JULY 5, 1887, TO TAKE
EFFECT JULY 1, 1887.

1. Standard thickness of coal shall be four feet and over.
2. When mining rates for standard coal are fixed at 75 to 95 cents per ton, all coal below standard thickness shall be paid for at the rate of 4 cents per ton additional for each three inches below said standard thickness.

3. When mining rates are fixed at 75 cents per ton, the price for driving single shift entries shall be \$2 per yard, and for every advance or decline of 10 cents per ton in mining rates an advance or decline of 25 cents per yard shall be made in entry price. Double shift entries shall be paid 25 cents per yard additional. Wet entry shall be paid such additional price per yard as may be agreed upon by the entrymen and mine boss.

4. "Break-throughs" of all kinds, \$1.50 per yard, based on 80 cents per ton mining; price of yardage to advance and decline in proportion to mining rates.

5. When mining rates are fixed at 75 to 95 cents per ton, miners shall be paid an additional 5 cents per ton for every six inches of slate or dirt that comes down unavoidably over the coal.

6. When miners are compelled to lift bottom or rip top for roadways they shall be paid at the rate of not less than 5 cents per inch in thickness per yard in length.

7. Room miners shall pay the company 1 cent per ton and the entrymen $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents per ton for blacksmithing.

8. The company shall provide props, caps and rails of suitable length and thickness and place them convenient to the mouth of the mine.

9. Where water is met with in either rooms or entries, the company shall either remove it so as not to delay the miners in their work or pay the miners for removing it at a rate per hour based on the roadmen's daily wages or its equivalent per ton.

10. "Horsebacks" shall be paid for as agreed upon by miners interested and mine bosses.

11. Price of powder per keg: When mining is 75 cents per ton, shall be \$2.25, and for every advance or decline of 10 cents per ton in mining rates there shall be an advance or decline of 25 cents per keg in price of powder; but miners may purchase where they please.

12. When miners are required to load coal to be paid for on the "brush coal" or "run of mine" coal system, they shall be paid for all such coal at the rate per ton of three-fourths of the price paid for screened coal, 2,000 pounds to the ton.

13. Room turning shall be paid for at the price of one yard of single entry.

14. Roadmen and drivers shall be paid \$1.92 per day, but shall purchase their own oil.

15. House coal to miners, when mining is 80 cents per ton, shall be \$2 per ton.

Signed on behalf of Operators—

A. HOWELLS.
FRED REESE.
WILLIAM PHILLIP.
J. P. BURTON.
R. KELLER.

Signed on behalf of Miners—

JOHN MCBRIDE.
D. MOYLAN.
JOHN THOMAS.
JOHN P. POLLOCK.
W. H. BASSETT.

THIRD JOINT CONFERENCE SCALE PRICES FOR 1888-1889.

Resolved, That the scale prices from May 1, 1888, to November 1, 1888, shall be 5 cents per ton above the scale base adopted by this convention, and 10 cents per ton above scale base from November 1, 1888, to May 1, 1889. The prices for the ensuing year shall be as follows:

	Scale Base.	May 1 to Nov. 1, 1888.	Nov. 1, 1888, to May 1, 1889.
Hocking valley -----	60c.	65c.	70c.
Pittsburg district -----	69c.	74c.	79c.
Reynolds and Fairmont ----	65c.	70c.	75c.
Indiana block -----	80c.	85c.	90c.
Indiana bituminous -----	65c.	70c.	75c.

A. DEMPSTER, President.
CHRIS EVANS, Secretary.

JOINT AGREEMENTS BETWEEN MINERS AND OPER- ATORS OF HOCKING VALLEY AT COLUM- BUS, OHIO, JANUARY 5 AND 25, 1888.

1. When mining rates are fixed at 70 cents per ton, the prices for driving single shaft entries shall be \$1.75 per yard: and for every advance or decline of 10 cents per ton in mining rates an advance or decline of 25 cents per yard shall be made in entry price.

2. Double shift and wet entries shall be paid for at such additional rates per yard as may be agreed upon by the mine boss and the entry men.

The agreement, so far as it relates to entries, shall take effect from December 15, 1887.

Signed on behalf of miners by

JOHN MCBRIDE.

JOHN H. TAYLOR.

Signed on behalf of operators by

Z. WILLIAMS.

EDMOND A. COLE.

AMENDED RESOLUTIONS JOINTLY AGREED UPON AT COLUMBUS, OHIO, JUNE 19-20, 1888.

“Resolved, That the interpretation of the contract shall be that the price of single shift dry entries shall be \$1.75 per yard from May 1, 1888, to May 1, 1889, and that thereafter the basis shall be \$1.75 per yard, on the rate of 70 cents mining, and a rise or decline of 12½ cents per yard on every rise or decline of 5 cents in the price of mining.”

Committee for Miners—

JOHN MCBRIDE,

JOHN H. TAYLOR.

N. R. HYSELL.

JAMES NELSON.

Committee for Operators—

W. S. COURTRIGHT.

Z. WILLIAMS.

THOMAS CORCORAN.

E. A. COLE.

H. C. STANWOOD.

“Resolved, That the price for all dry break-throughs between rooms shall be 50 cents per yard less than regular dry entry price.

“Resolved, That the resolutions adopted by this committee at this meeting apply to Districts Nos. 1, 8 and 9.”

JOINT AGREEMENT OF HOCKING VALLEY OPER- ATORS AND MINERS, AUGUST 21, 1888.

This agreement, entered into this twenty-first day of August, 1888, by and between the machine operators and the committee of the miners.

Witnesseth, That, taking effect on September 1, 1888, the following shall be the schedule of prices for the classes of work specified, viz.:

When the price of pick mining is 65 cents per ton at mines in the Hocking valley and T. & O. C. districts, loading in rooms shall be $32\frac{1}{2}$ cents per ton when the drilling is done by the operator; $35\frac{1}{2}$ cents when the loading and drilling are both done by the miner. Loading in entries shall be 41 cents per ton when the drilling is done by the operator and 44 cents per ton when both drilling and loading are done by the miner. The price for break-throughs between entries shall be the same as for entry work. The price for loading in break-throughs between rooms shall be 6 cents per ton above the price for loading in rooms, or $38\frac{1}{2}$ cents when the drilling is done by the operator and $41\frac{1}{2}$ cents when done by the miner.

When the price of pick mining advances to 70 cents per ton the price of loading in rooms shall be 35 cents per ton when drilling is done by the operator and 38 cents per ton when done by the miner.

Loading in entries shall be $43\frac{1}{2}$ cents per ton when drilling is done by the operator and $46\frac{1}{2}$ cents when done by the miner.

Loading in break-throughs shall be 41 cents and 44 cents per ton, respectively, according to whether drilling is done by the operator or miner.

The price for cutting to remain as at present until rates of wages in pick mines shall be over 70 cents per ton.

The price for room turning shall be \$1.25 per room extra over the regular room prices for loading, and where the cutting is done by the ton the cutter shall also receive 50 cents per room extra for turning each room.

Committee for Miners—

JOHN MEREDITH.
JOHN H. TAYLOR.
THOMAS P. JAMES.

Committee for Operators—

W. P. REND.
W. B. BROOKS.
GEORGE W. BRASHEARS,

For Consolidated Mining Company.

WILLIAM JOB.
THOMAS CORCORAN,

Agent for Sunday Creek Coal Company.

H. D. TURNEY,

Vice-President Columbus and Hocking Coal and Iron Co.

Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, April 16, 1889.

We, the undersigned officers and miners of the National Progressive Union, hereby guarantee to the operator representatives of the State of Ohio an agreement for the price of mining for the year of May 1, 1889, to May 1, 1890, and its successful fulfillment on the basis of 62½ cents from May 1 to November 1, and 67½ cents from November 1 to May 1 for the Hocking district.

Executive Committee—

CHRISTOPHER EVANS,

President District No. 10, N. P. U.

JOHN H. TAYLOR.

W. H. BASSETT.

JOHN A. PEDDICORD.

VICTOR E. SULLIVAN.

JOHN MCBRIDE,

President National Progressive Union.

Accepted on part of the operators by

H. L. CHAPMAN,

J. S. MORTON,

O. TOWNSEND,

By J. S. MORTON,

Committee.

JOINT AGREEMENT.

With Sunday Creek Coal Company on prices for entry driving and day wages:

Columbus, Ohio, 1889.

	62½-Cent Mining.	70-Cent Mining.
Entry driving, per yard -----	\$1.56¼	\$1.75
Drivers, per day -----	1.81¼	2.00
Trackmen, per day -----	2.05	2.25
Bone Coal men, per day -----	1.81¼	2.00
Engineers, per day -----	2.05	2.25
Trappers, per day -----	.62½	.70
Head Trimmer, or Dock Boss, per day--	2.00	2.25
Head Dumper, per day -----	1.65	1.80
Blacksmith, per day -----	2.05	2.25

The above prices to take effect from May 1 to November 1, 1889, for labor specified, and from November 1 to May 1,

1890, a proportionate advance to the price of mining then in force.

Signed by officers of National Progressive Union.

Miners Committee—

CHRIS EVANS,

President District No. 10.

GEORGE SCOTT,

President Sub-District No. 8.

JAMES NELSON,

President Sub-District No. 9.

The Sunday Creek Coal Company,

By J. S. MORTON,

President.

The wages paid per day by the Columbus and Hocking Valley Coal and Iron Company in the month of May, 1889, with mining prices at 62½ cents per ton, follow:

Drivers, \$1.81¼; trackmen, \$2.04; trimmers, \$1.81¼; dumper, \$1.70; blacksmith, \$2.27; trappers, 52½ cents.

PRICES PAID IN OHIO FOR COAL MINING PER DAY,
PER YARD AND PER TON AT PLACES NAMED
IN THE MONTH OF MAY, 1889.

	Mahoning County.	Medina County.	Tuscarawas County.	Belmont County.	Jackson County.	Stark County.	Vinton County.	Columbiana County.
Cagers -----	----	----	----	----	\$1.35	\$1.65	\$1.65	----
Tracklayers -----	----	\$1.87	\$1.90— 1.65	----	1.35— 1.60	1.65	1.37½	1.65
Drivers -----	\$1.67	1.87	1.65— 1.70	\$1.50	1.35	1.82	1.50	1.65— 1.82
Dumpers -----	----	----	1.40— 1.50	----	1.28— 1.35	1.50	1.15	----
Trimmers -----	----	----	1.40— 1.50	1.25	1.28— 1.35	1.65	1.37	----
Trappers -----	----	.50	.65	----	.50	.60	.50	----
Entries, per yard ----	1.56— 2.06	1.55— 2.12½	1.25	----	1.12½	2.06	1.62½	1.15— 1.95
Price, per ton -----	.85	.67½	.62½	.62½	.62½	.77½	.67½	.65— .77½

A comparative scale of day wages paid in May, 1889, by the Columbus and Hocking Valley Coal and Iron Company, or Hocking Valley Syndicate, and the Morris Coal Company, two companies employing the largest number of day hands, under different heads, in the Hocking valley district of Ohio. The day wages are based on 62½-cent mining rates:

	Hocking Valley Syndicate	Morris Coal Company.
Drivers -----	\$1.81¼	\$1.81¼
Trackmen -----	2.04	2.00
		2.25
Trimmers -----	1.81¼	1.81¼
Dumpers -----	1.70	1.93¼
Slack Haulers -----	1.00	1.50
	1.13	1.81¼
	1.36	
Blacksmith -----	2.27	2.25
Gob cleaning -----	1.36	1.50
		1.81¼
Carpenters -----	1.81¼	2.25
		2.35
Firemen -----	1.70	2.00
Trappers -----	.52½	.65
		.75
Furnacemen -----	1.02	1.50
		1.65

In the month of May, 1889, the officers of the Pittsburg district, Pennsylvania, known as District No. 4, National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers, issued the following:

Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, May 14, 1889.

At a convention of miners in this city, this day, the resolution presented to offer to the operators the price of 73 cents as the price to govern the mining of coal in the Pittsburg district from May 1, 1889, to April 30, 1890, was unanimously adopted, and Messrs. John D. Conway, W. T. Lewis, Michael McQuade and James Cole were authorized and empowered to sign an agreement with the operators binding the miners to be so governed during that time, and in conformity therewith and for that purpose we, John D. Conway, W. T. Lewis, Michael McQuade and James Cole, sign this paper as a full obligation on the part of the miners to that effect.

JOHN D. CONWAY.

W. T. LEWIS.

MICHAEL MCQUADE.

JAMES COLE.

This proposition has been considered by the operators and we, the committee, appointed for the purpose of accepting the same on the part of the operators, and binding the same to the payment of said price for the term specified, do sign this paper.

A. DEMPSTER.

F. L. ROBBINS.

GEORGE W. SCHLUEDERBERG.

Trade agreements or collective bargaining denote ascendancy.

The principle is just, fair and equitable to both operators and miners, and deserves well their united effort.

END OF VOLUME I.

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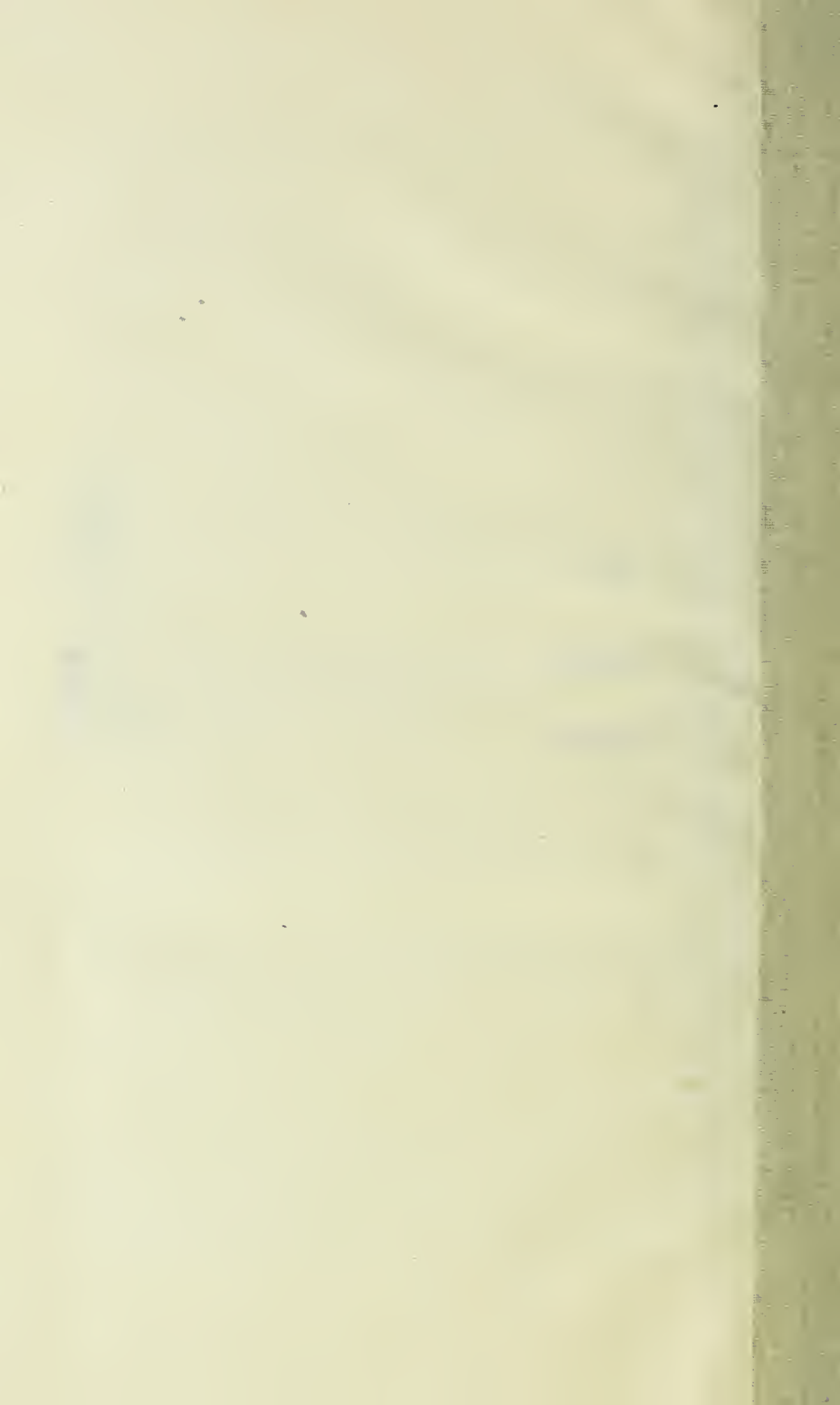
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